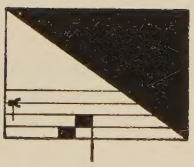
MVSICA DISCIPLINA

A Yearbook of the History of Music

ARMEN CARAPETYAN
Editor

Gilbert Reaney
Assistant Editor



Vol. XII, 1958

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF MUSICOLOGY

CONTENTS *

A. MACHABEY
A Propos des Quadruples Pérotiniens 3

URSULA GÜNTHER
The 14th-Century Motet and its Development 27

ANDRE GILLES and GILBERT REANEY
A New Source for the *Ars Nova* of Philippe de Vitry . . . 59

GILBERT REANEY
The Manuscript, British Museum, Additional 29987 (*Lo*) 67

RICHARD H. HOPPIN
An Unrecognized Polyphonic Lai of Machaut 93

LUDWIG FINSCHER
Loyset Compère and his Works 105

EDWIN B. WARREN
The Masses of Robert Fayrfax 145

Bibliography 177

* In an approximately chronological order.

A PROPOS DES QUADRUPLES PEROTINIENS

A. MACHABEY

Abréviations

Ba.	Bamberg, Staatsbibl., Lit. 115 (*olim* Ed. IV 6)
Ma.	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 20486
Mo.	Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine H 196 (publ. Y. Rokseth, *Les Polyphonies du XIIIe siècle,* 4 vols., 1935-39)
W1, W2	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek 628 et 1099
Fl.	Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, Pluteus 29, I
Egerton	London, B. M. Egerton 2615
StV	Paris, Bibl. Nationale, lat. 15139
L	longue
B	brève
SB	semi-brève
P	pause brève ou indéterminée
PL	pause longue
P.L.	*Patrologia Latina,* éd. J. P. Migne, 221 vols., 1844-55
ND.	Notre-Dame
C.I	C. E. H. de Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi nova series* I (1864)
Ano. IV	Anonyme IV de C.I
Ms(s)	manuscrit(s)
Aubry	P. Aubry, *Cent motets du XIIIe siècle,* 3 vols., 1908
Cserba	S. M. Cserba, *Der Musiktraktat des Hieronymus Moravia* O.P., 1935
Waite	W. G. Waite, *The Rhythm of Twelfth-Century Polyphony,* 1954 [M_1, M_3]
ZfMw	*Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*

Quelques circonstances doivent être rappelées: on rencontre au début des manuscrits dits de Notre-Dame: *W1* et *2, Fl., Ma.* Egerton, plusieurs oeuvres écrites à quatre voix.

Deux d'entre elles, très développées, sont attribuées expressément à Pérotin par l'Ano. IV: ce sont les deux graduel-répons *Viderunt* et *Sederunt* (C.I, 350 b). Depuis longtemps on a rapproché ces deux oeuvres de deux lettres d'Odon de Sully, datées respectivement de 1198 et 1199, qui font allusion non à *Viderunt* et *Sederunt,* mais aux pièces qui seront chantées à Noël et à St. Etienne: "... in organo (2 voix), vel triplo (3 vx.) vel quadruplo (4 vx.)"; il faut cependant remarquer que le texte de 1198 cite avec précision les "responsorium et benedicamus" et celui de 1199, "... qui

in Missa responsum vel Alleluia in organo, etc. decantabant" (P.L. CCXII, 72/73). Du point de vue terminologique, Odon fait toujours de l'*organum* une composition à deux voix; le triple et le quadruple ne sont pas des *organa;* le texte dit que le *Benedicamus* (ou l'*Alleluia* etc.) peut être chanté soit en organum; (ici, en *organum purum* ou *per se*) soit en triplum, soit en quadruplum [1].

Qu'on admette ou non le recoupement des textes d'Odon de Sully avec celui de l'Ano.IV, il reste que les deux quadruples *Viderunt* et *Sederunt* à quatre voix — qui seraient ainsi datés — sont l'oeuvre de Pérotin [2].

Cependant le même § de l'Ano.IV comporte aussi mention de *triples* et se termine par *etc.,* ce qui laisse supposer que les titres qu'il rattache à Pérotin ne sont pas les seuls; l'auteur de *Viderunt* a dû composer d'autres quadruples (et triples) moins importants ou moins développés que les deux graduels ci-dessus désignés.

Cette présomption est renforcée par un passage de Jean de Garlande, antérieur à celui de l'Ano.IV, (env. 1240 contre 1272) et qui, traitant de la forme des quadruples mentionne expressément ceux de Pérotin qui se trouvent au début du grand volume (per totum in principio magni voluminis). Ces quadruples sont excellents, mésurés (ou peut-être harmonisés: *proportionata*) et (bien) conservés quant aux ornements.

Plus bas et toujours à propos des quadruples, Jean de Garlande signale explicitement l'intervention des instruments, soit comme compléments des voix, soit même comme substituts, car il précise que la voix humaine ne pouvant atteindre certains degrés à l'aigu comme au grave, il faut s'en tenir pour écrire les quadruples vocaux à des règles qu'il énonce [3].

[1] J. Chailley écrit qu'on chantera, à la date de 1199, "les répons de l'Alleluia en organum triple ou quadruple" (*Hist. de la Musique au moyen-âge* (1950), 161) sans tenir compte du *vel* qui se trouve, dans la lettre précédente (1198), une première fois entre organo et triplo puis entre triplo et quadruplo. Il exclut ainsi l'organum proprement dit à 2 voix.

Cf. outre P.L.: *Cartularium episcopi,* LXXVI, CXCI. — et son testament en 1208.

[2] Je rappelle que ces deux répons-graduels existent dans les mss. de N.D. à deux voix en *organum purum,* parmi ceux qu'on attribue à Léonin. Cf. Waite, M1, M3. Ludwig les attribuait à Pérotin.

[3] Il a écrit plus haut que le registre (de la voix) du quadruple se trouve dans la 3ème octave et au-dessous, ce qui est à peine utilisé dans les compositions, *sauf sur les instruments* (Ed. Cserba, p. 228). En parlant des triples, il a déjà signalé que l'étendue du *triplex diapason* se rencontre rarement sauf *sur les instruments à vent.* Les instruments sont employés dans les triples et les quadruples (Id.). NB. On se souvient que *triplum* désigne la 3ème voix, mais aussi l'ensemble de la composition à 3 voix; quadruplum, la 4ème voix et la composition à 4 voix. La seconde voix (en partant du grave) est qualifiée duplum ou discantus ou motetus. Le ténor (ou cantus firmus) est la voix grave.

Si l'on se reporte aux manuscrits de Notre-Dame, auxquels on peut ajouter à la rigueur le ms. de Montpellier 196, on constate que les quadruples sont groupés comme le dit. J. de Garlande, au début de chacun de ces *volumina;* on y rencontre le *Viderunt* et le *Sederunt* ainsi que d'autres pièces à 4 voix non citées nommément par l'Ano.IV mais qui *peut-être* étaient comprises dans le *etc.* final du § auquel on a fait allusion plus haut. (C.I, 342, 2ème §).

Ces quadruples ont déjà été commentés et partiellement publiés à plusieurs reprises; on peut cependant pousser leur étude plus loin qu'on ne l'a fait jusqu'à présent et en tirer quelques conclusions nouvelles.

On parlera d'abord de la polyphonie à 4 voix: *Mors,* qualifiée clausule, qui ne comporte, à part ce *Mors* initial au ténor, aucun texte. L'Ano.IV ne mentionne pas cette oeuvre, mais sa célébrité ne fait aucun doute: le Ms. *Ma.* donne *Mors* sous forme d'un motet à une voix et ténor; *Ba.:* motet à trois voix (N° LXI); *Fl.*: motet à trois voix, F° 400 ss.; Montpellier, motet à 4 voix; *W2*, deux motets *Mors,* dont un sur un ténor *Consolatio* (Cf. Aubry III, 93).

Dans ces oeuvres, le déchant (duplum) de *Ma.* est celui de la clausule à 4 voix (sans texte); dans *Ba,* le duplum et le triplum sont ceux de cette même clausule; dans *Mo.* les trois parties chantantes (avec texte) sont également celles du quadruple sans texte. Florence équivaut à Bamberg (sauf pour la notation).

Quant au ténor, on le retrouve à peu près identique dans toutes les versions, si ce n'est que dans *Ba.* il est écrit en notes séparées, tandis que dans les autres mss. les notes sont ligaturées chaque fois que c'est possible, bien qu'il s'agisse d'un cinquième mode, ce qui révèle une copie originale de l'époque garlandienne [4] ou prégarlandienne.

Enfin, Florence conserve un *Christus resurgens* à 2 vx. avec le final *Mors* tiré du liturgique et plus loin quatre clausules à 2 vx. sur le ténor *Mors* mais avec des organa différents [5].

Parmi les autres moutures de ce *Mors* l'attention est attirée par une polyphonie de *Ma.* qui suit *Sederunt* et débute par: *Morte tu morti...* Bien qu'elle comporte quatre portées, cette pièce est un triple, la portée inférieure restant vide; aucune des trois mélodies superposées ne rappelle celles de *Mors* et néanmoins cette courte pièce nous intéresse pour les raisons suivantes:

[4] *Ba.* est intermédiaire entre Garlande et Franco; un autre motet à 3 voix (N° LXVI) est construit sur le même ténor *Mors,* également en 5ème mode; notes séparées.

[5] Je signale incidemment que la vocalise d'où est tiré le ténor *Mors,* doit être relativement récente, car elle ne figure pas dans l'un des organa du *Winchester Troper,* où le mot *Mors* ne comporte qu'un signe (XI° siècle).

1° elle comporte un texte, le même pour les trois voix;

2° sa structure est celle du Conduit homorythmique;

3° cette pièce est encadrée par deux autres triples, de *mêmes mélodies,* mais de textes différents (soit un ensemble de trois strophes)

4° ces textes ne sont autres que des tropes du mot: *Tu—am* (Le début de *Morte tu* . . . a été transcrit avec raison par Dreves *Tu morte* . . .)

5° Ce mot *tuam* manque dans toutes les versions, sauf à *Ma.* C'est le dernier terme du texte liturgique: *Adjuva me* . . . *misericordiam tuam.*

6° les trois mélodies superposées sont celles du mélisme polyphonique qui se déroule sur la syllabe DI de *misericorDIam,* dans la version de *Sederunt — Adjuva me etc.* écrit en ligatures dans les principaux mss. de ND. y compris *Ma.* qui présente deux versions: le quadruple en ligatures et le quadruple (triple) sur texte, c'est-à-dire en un vaste trope homorythmique du *type conduit,* trope dont les 10 strophes inégales ont d'ailleurs été publiées par Dreves dès 1906. On comprend mieux maintenant la présence des trois strophes de *Tuam:* tout le répons-graduel *Sederunt — Adjuva me* est tropé et se termine par une sorte de trilogie sur son dernier terme.

La présence de ce trope considérable pose plusieurs questions. Figurait-il dans l'une des copies anciennes dérivées des *volumina* de ND.? A-t-il été conçu et réalisé par un poète ecclésiastique qui l'a communiqué au copiste du manuscrit de Madrid?

Dans la première hypothèse, *Sederunt** aurait été composé sous forme de conduit en un temps ou dans une école où la notation non différenciée était en usage, celle de notre trope ne comportant que des carrés et quelques ligatures. Rien ne s'oppose à ce que cette version soit la plus ancienne, celle même dont parlait Odon de Sully en 1198 ou 1199 (et qui ne fait aucune allusion aux instruments).

Les notes du cantus firmus, placées comme des jalons à la voix grave des *mélismes* sont absentes de la version sur texte et nous sommes certains que dans les plus anciens mss. ces notes espacées ne nécessitaient plus de portées puisqu'elles étaient encore représentées par des lettres [6].

La version mélismatique qui vient dans *Ma.* après le trope serait donc la transcription *abrégée* (c'est-à-dire en ligatures modales) de ce dernier, possible d'être executée le cas échéant par des instruments (cf. J. de Garlande, supra).

[6] "Fuerunt quidam qui notabant et ponebant litteras in loco punctorum, sic: f f f a c c d c a c c c c d d c c; quod patet in antiquis libris super *Viderunt omnes*" (C. I, 350b). Ces lettres sont celles du cantus firmus de *Viderunt* (en notation sur lignes).

* Ce trope est amputé des 4 premiers folios: nous l'avons reconstitué au moyen du ms Graz, Universitätsbibl. 756, du *W2* et des sources littéraires imprimées (notre conférence à l'Institut de Musicologie, Paris, 24.1.59)

Dans la seconde hypothèse en revanche, un compositeur partant de l'*organum purum* y aurait superposé un triple, puis un quadruple, toujours sous la forme mélismatique; le quadruple ainsi obtenu, ses ligatures en auraient été décomposées en notes séparées, dotées de syllabes — de même que jadis les notes séparées des vocalises d'*Alleluia* donnèrent lieu aux *Proses,* de même aussi qu'au début du XIII° Siècle, les notes isolées provenant de certaines clausules, adaptées à des textes nouveaux, engendrèrent le motet (cf. *Mors*).

Cette dernière analogie ferait pencher la balance en faveur de la seconde hypothèse si, comme on semblait l'admettre, le motet avait précédé le conduit *polyphonique;* cependant l'existence de conduits syllabiques à deux voix en notation neumatique, note contre note, du XI° siècle, ceux du Pseudo-Calixtinus au XII°, de Saint-Martial autour de 1200 prouvent l'antériorité de ce conduit sur le motet et laisse ouverte la possibilité d'un *Sederunt* ancien sous forme d'un trope syllabique à 3 voix "parlantes" au-dessus des jalons du cantus firmus [7].

Revenons à *Sederunt,* à son trope (Ad)-JU-(va me) — et comparons-le au même fragment *mélismatique* [8] dans les mss. *Fl. W1* et *Ma.* (18 V°).

Dans la version tropée *Ma.,* 7 R°-8 R°, les notes des trois voix sont soigneusement placées les unes sous les autres et donnent lieu aux remarques suivantes:

1° jusqu'à *Cuncta regis* (7 V°, 1ère accolade) le trope comporte un mélisme de la forme qui passe d'une voix à l'autre, la dernière fois au triple sur TU juste avant *Cuncta.*

2° cette cellule mélismatique est contrepointée par une cellule en notes séparées et apparemment égales.

3° le tropeur a, en général, conservé les pauses de la version mélismatique, mais parfois il en a ajouté et d'autres fois il les a modifiées:

Ex.: ajoutées: I barre de deux espaces après le 2ème Ré du 1er mélisme, fin de la portée (au triple) séparant ainsi le Ré du DO de résolution (début de la dernière accolade);

I barre de trois espaces après ce DO, le séparant de la ternaria suivante;

Modifiées: au triple: double barre de deux espaces après le 2ème mélisme, au lieu d'une barre dans les versions mélismatiques (*Ma., Fl., W1*);

La pause ajoutée entre *pugnantium* et *es* et qui figure dans les trois voix, s'explique difficilement.

[7] La présence du mot TUAM — indispensable du point de vue liturgique — dans le seul trope, plaide en faveur de l'antériorité de ce dernier.

[8] J'emploierai souvent ce terme pour désigner la version sans texte et en ligatures.

4° la valeur de durée de ces pauses ou pseudo-pauses est indéterminée et, la plupart du temps, elles ne servent qu'à de courts arrêts ou à des respirations entre deux cellules;

5° les formules mélodiques en simples et en ligatures des premières syllabes (ad)-JU-TUM, TU (redde) sont des modèles et alimentent toutes les phrases musicales de cette section du trope.

6° sauf au début (sur lequel nous reviendrons) les rapports entre la mélodie du trope et celle des mélismes sont étroits.

7° en conséquence la transcription mélismatique pourra fournir des indications pour celle de la version tropée;

8° les versions mélismatiques — en particulier celles de *Ma., Fl., W1* que nous avons sous les yeux divergent sur certains points.

Ex. les pauses ou pseudo-pauses diffèrent selon les mss.

a. le triple de *W1* et *Fl.* ne comporte pas une seule double barre, alors qu'on en rencontre dans *Ma.*

b. duplum et ténor: *Ma.* présente des doubles barres d'un espace contre des barres simples d'un ou de deux espaces [9] dans *W1* et *Fl.* (*Ma* 𝄆, *W1* 𝄆, *Fl.* 𝄆).*Ma.* utilise des triples barres d'un espace contre des doubles-barres de 1, 2 ou même 3 espaces dans les autres mss. (*Ma.* 𝄆, *W1* 𝄆, *Fl.* 𝄆).

On rencontre aussi des pauses d'un espace à *Ma.*, contre 3 espaces à *W1* ou à *Fl.* (*Ma.* 𝄆, *W1* 𝄆, *Fl.* 𝄆) — et même l'absence totale de pauses à *Ma.* contre des barres de toute la hauteur de la portée à *Fl.* et *W1.*

9° dans toute la première partie de ce fragment, jusqu'à *cuncta* (exclu) de la version tropée, le ténor de *W1, Fl.* et *Ma.* offre la structure suivante:

a. cellule de 5 notes simples ou 7 notes équivalentes avec ligatures,
b. double barre,
c. note isolée,
d. barre simple etc.

au duplum: disposition "en échiquier" avec le ténor:

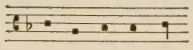
a. cellule de 7 (en lig.) plus 5 notes,
b. barre simple,
c. note isolée,
d. double barre, etc.

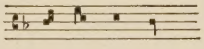
Avant même de transcrire, on comprend que le vide compris entre deux pauses ou pseudo-pauses du ténor, correspond à une cellule chantée du ténor. Le mécanisme de cette construction est d'autant plus clair que la formule A du ténor se reproduit au duplum — et que la formule B du duplum se reproduit au ténor (sans préjudice du triple qui utilise ces formules juxtaposées mais sans interruption).

[9] C-à-d, interligne; le Moyen âge emploie *spatium.*

Si l'on s'en tient à l'interprétation garlandienne des ligatures (ternaria L B L, binaria B L en majorité) la transcription de la version mélismatique, et par conséquent celle des mélismes du trope, se fait dans une mesure trochaïque mélangée de L de trois temps. Les musicologues estimeront qu'il s'agit d'une association du 1er et du 5ème modes garlandiens, comme Mgr. Anglès en a rencontré dans les *Cantigas* — mélange en quelque sorte admis par Franco qui englobe dans son 1er mode, le 1er et le 5ème de Garlande (C.I, 118b). Il est plus simple d'admettre une mesure composée 6/8 ou 6/4 sans trop tenir compte des *modi.*

Cela dit, voici aussi bien dans l'organum (version mélismatique) que dans le conduit tropé les formules directrices:

Ténor: 

Duplum (triple et ténor): 

qui se présente aussi sous les formes successives:

Ces remarques faites, si l'on interprète les pauses ou pseudo-pauses de la première moitié du fragment en tenant compte de l'alternance signalée plus haut, on transcrit assez facilement ledit fragment, comme l'a fait Husmann (en 6/4) (Planche 1).

(Dans *W1* les notes sont généralement caudées; dans *Fl.* les hampes sont souvent amorcées; dans *Ma.* ce sont des carrés avec quelques amorces de *cauda,* comme dans le trope.)

Trope de (Ad)-JU-VA extrait du *Sederunt* tropé de *Ma*

1ere partie A en Hoquet, 2ième partie B en conductus.

♩. = 84
Ma 7v—8r:
A
(Ad) Ju - - - - - - - tum Tu
(Ad) Ju - - - - - - - tum Tu
cellule 2
cellule 1
*)
(Ad) Ju - - - - tum Tu red - de
red - de me tu - tum Tu do-mi-nus es
(1)
red - de me tu - tum Tu do-mi-nus es
me tu - tum Tu do-mi-nus es vir-tu - tum
etc.
vir - tu - tum Tu cun-cta re-gis ad nu - tum
etc.
vir - tu - tum Tu cun-cta re-gis ad nu - tum
etc.
(2)
Tu cun-cta re-gis ad nu - tum
mi fa mi do
(Wt et Fl.)
Tu mu-tas au-ro lu - tum mun-das vas pol-lu - tum Tu pu-gnan-ti- um es bra-chi-um gla-di-um
Tu mu-tas au-ro lu - tum mun-das vas pol-lu - tum Tu pu-gnan-ti- um es bra-chi-um gla-di-um
Tu mu-tas au-ro lu - tum mun-das vas pol-lu - tum Tu pu-gnan-ti-um es bra-chi-um gla-di-um

*)En renonçant à reproduire rigoureusement le rythme trochaïque du mélisme et adoptant celui de „mutas .... etc" on obtient un débit littéraire plus conforme au style de la pièce: Tu pu-gnan-ti-um es bra-chi-um gla-di-um et

(1) fa = *Wt* et *Fl.* (2) Ms: Si Si La.

ou
Selon W1
(et scu-tum)
etc.
Fl
et scu - tum tri - bu - tum Re-mo-ve ser - vi - tu - tum Tu me
et scu - tum tri - bu - tum Re-mo-ve ser - vi - tu - tum Tu me
et scu - tum tri - bu - tum Re-mo-ve ser - vi - tu - tum Tu me
ou: par analogie et suggéré par W1
de - sti - tu - tum ju - VA
de - sti - tu - tum ju - VA
de - sti - tu - tum ju - VA
ju - VA

*) Le FA grave sur JU et sur VA n'existe que dans le mélisme (non dans le trope).

Il s'agit de savoir si le même dispositif s'applique *ipso facto* au trope. En voici le texte:

0	(Ad)-ju-tum		
1	Tu — redde me tutum	(1) + 5	syllabes
2	Tu — dominus es virtutum	(1) + 7	„
3	Tu — cuncta regis ad nutum	(1) + 7	„
4	Tu mutas aura lutum	7	„
5	Mundas vos pellutum	6	„
6	Tu pugnantium /	5	„
7	es brachium gladium	7	„
8	et scutum tributum	6	„
9	Remove servitutum	7	„
10	Tu me destitutum-juva	8 (6 + 2)	„

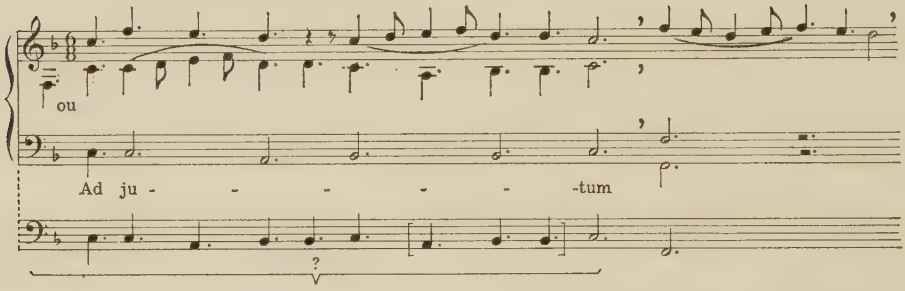
Deux hypothèses sont à envisager.

A. La disposition graphique des 3 voix du trope représente la façon dont il était chanté, les chantres lisant sur le livre.

B. Le Ms. n'est qu'un recueil d'après lequel le chef de choeur instruisait ses chantres qui ensuite exécutaient, soit de mémoire, soit en s'aidant du ms. ou de parties séparées, ce qu'ils avaient appris.

Hypothèse A. — D'après la disposition graphique, les 3 voix qui partent ensemble de UT (le LA du duplum est sans doute une erreur; c'est un FA (*Fl.* et *W1*) ou un UT) aboutissent ensemble à UT (... *tum*). Il en résulte qu'entre ces deux jalons, le ténor n'a qu'*une* formule de 4 notes à chanter tandis que le duplum et le triplum ont chacun deux formules, soit l'équivalent de 8 longues.

On pourrait supposer que la valeur des notes du ténor était exceptionnellement doublée, ce qui laisse subsister une dissonance entre duplum et ténor:



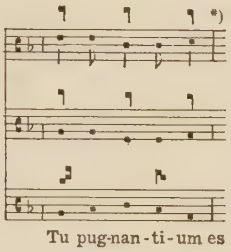
ou encore qu'il était chanté deux fois: une fois sous chaque groupe mélismatique du double et du triple en contrepoint.

Ensuite reparaissent les valeurs normales. Après TU prononcé sur un accord de FA et prolongé par un mélisme au triple, *redde me tutum* est chanté syllabiquement sur 5 temps, (le triple doublant le ténor à l'octave). La ligne (2) est interprétée dans les mêmes conditions, ainsi que la ligne (3), les suivantes de 4 à 10, sont chantées syllabiquement sans intervention de mélisme sur la première syllabe.

Etant donné que l'écriture de la mélodie est exclusivement syllabique et ne présente que des *carrés* (puncta), on peut se demander s'il s'agit d'un débit isochrone; cependant le contour mélodique d'une part, la notation des passages correspondants de la version mélismatique d'autre part (*Ma., Fl., W1*) semblent s'opposer — au moins provisoirement — à cette solution:

Ex.

A plusieurs reprises la L ultra mensuram de l'organum a été décomposée en 2 notes: L et B (trochée): *Ma., W1, Fl.* (Le Ré * manque dans *Ma.*)



On rencontre aussi quelques désaccords entre les deux version au cours des lignes 7 et 8, mais ce ne sont là que des incidents d'adaptation.

Abstraction fait de la difficulté opposé par la cellule initiale du ténor, cette première solution apportée à la transcription est plausible.

Hypothèse B. — Elle consiste à tenir compte pour les lignes 0 à 3 inclus, non plus de la disposition graphique (note contre note) mais de la valeur des notes et surtout des signes de repos (barre ou double barre) tracés non seulement dans la version tropée, mais aussi, à titre de secours, dans la version mélismatique.

En d'autres termes, on restitue pour ces quatre lignes du texte latin la structure alternée que nous avons signalée précédemment à propos de l'organum.

On obtient ainsi des séquences de la forme suivante:

Cette disposition se reproduit trois fois (sans préjudice de *Adjutum*) et les trois voix se réunissent, note contre note, à partir de la ligne 4 (*Tu mutas* etc.).

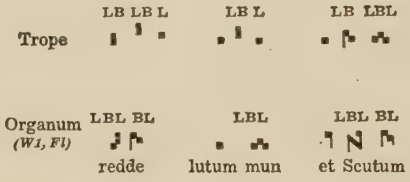
La première difficulté réside, comme on l'a déjà signalé, dans l'impré-

* Dreves propose à tort *pugnatum* contre *Ma* et Flacius (et la grammaire).

cision des signes de repos. Ainsi, au triple après les cellules mélismatiques sur TU, on relève une double barre de deux espaces qui ne correspond qu'à un court repos (un temps) de l'organum, tandis que le même signe, au duplum et au ténor se traduirait par un silence de quatre temps (2 mesures à 6/8), cela sans préjudice du temps complémentaire, si on traduit la dernière note de la cellule par une note d'un temps — noire pointée — et non deux temps: blanche pointée.

La seconde, c'est que le "note contre note" parait bien établi dès *"cuncta regis"* (ligne 3) dans le trope, alors que la construction alternée reporte l'ensemble à *"Tu mutas . . ."*. En dépit de ces objections, je pense qu'on peut adopter, au moins provisoirement, cette dernière transcription, parce qu'elle est une adaptation plus exacte de la version mélismatique.

Des observations intéressantes sont suggérées par la ou les notations de ces deux versions; nous ne signalerons que la forme trochaïque (L B) indubitablement attribuée aux deux *podatus* de *red-de* dans le duplum; à celui de *lu-tum* dans le triple; à la *clivis* de *scu(tum)* (triple). Ces valeurs sont obligées non seulement par le rythme général, mais par la notation correspondante de l'organum:



Nous rencontrerons ce rythme dans d'autres pièces (cf. infra).

Plus importante est la construction alternée que nous venons d'analyser.

1° Elle utilise pour la superposition des deux motifs fondamentaux ce qu'on appellera plus tard le contrepoint renversable; signalé par Y. Rokseth dans *StV* [10], daté vraisemblablement de 1248, nous voyons que c'est un procédé courant chez Pérotin, si du moins comme on l'admet, ce *Sederunt* est son oeuvre.

2° exposer un thème à l'une des voix, sous un contre-chant, puis intervertir les deux voix, est une disposition relevée par Garlande, probablement dans l'oeuvre de Pérotin, et baptisée par lui: "répétition"; soit dans la technique moderne: *imitation.*

3° Ce qui est significatif, c'est l'alternance elle-même des deux motifs entre le ténor et le duplum. Cette alternance répond en effet à la définition

[10] 'Le contrepoint double vers 1248', *Melanges de Musicologies offerts à M. Lionel de la Laurencie* (1933), 5 ff.

du *Hoquet,* telle que l'esquisse déjà Jean de Garlande à propos de la *Copula:* "Une autre (copula) est celle qui se fait par l'interruption des sons, en exprimant un temps après un temps, ou *des temps après des temps* (tempora post tempora). Ce mode est employé sur des instruments à vent (*flaiolis*?) et certains l'appellent *Hoquet*" *(C.I,* 116 b). Walter Odington est encore plus précis: "Une autre espèce de déchant se réalise avec texte ou sans texte; tandis que l'un chante, l'autre se tait, *et e contrario* . . . Un chant de ce genre est dit *truncatus, qui et hoquetus dicitur*" (Id. 246a); plus loin il précise que le hoquet peut être triplex "tandis que deux chantent, l'autre se tait". Il fournit un schema de Hoquet dans le 5ème mode, qui se rapproche un peu de *Adjuva.*

J. de Garlande qui écrit vraisemblablement vers 1240, a, ou a eu, sous les yeux les quadruples célèbres de Pérotin; il en esquisse rapidement la structure quant au Hoquet; W. Odington dont on situe le texte vers 1280, a connaissance du développement du *Hoquet* qui devient à son époque une véritable forme ou tout au moins un procédé courant de composition *.

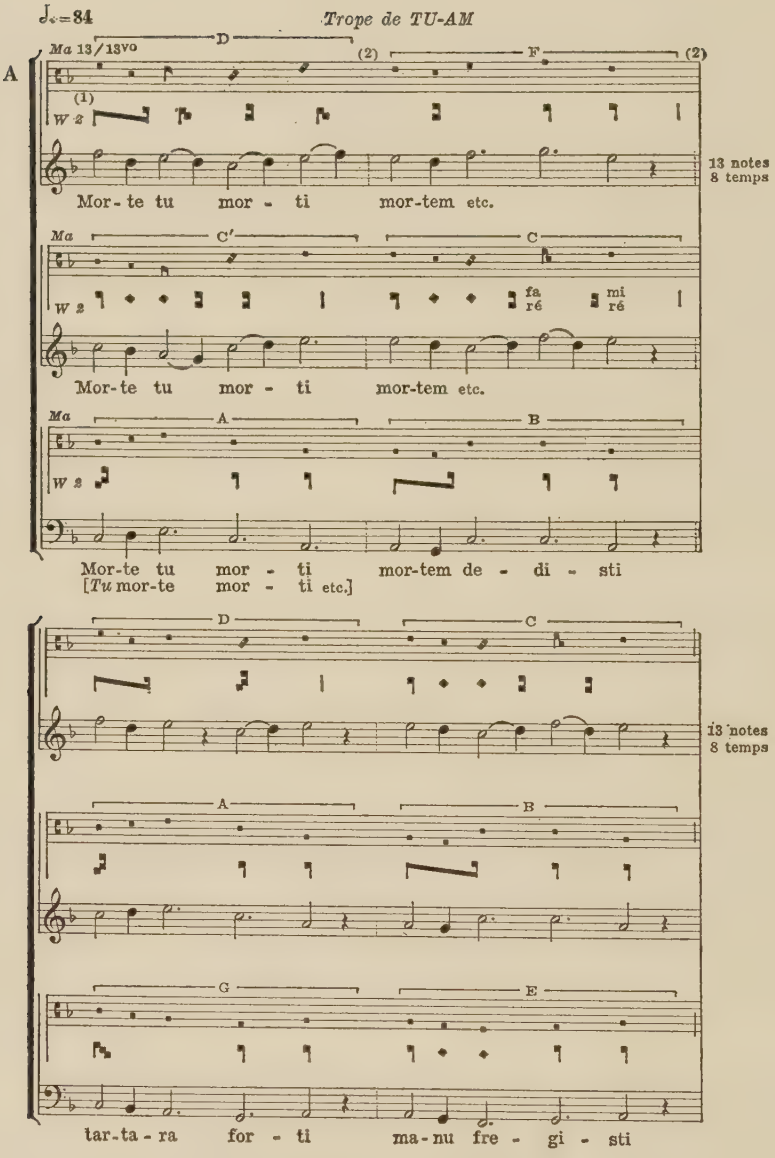
Le trope *Adjuva* à 3 voix, calqué sur le mélisme à quatre, est donc un Hoquet "triplex" dans toute sa première partie: on entend toujours deux voix sur trois qui chantent, puisque le *dessus* se déroule sans discontinuité au-dessus des alternances.

Cette constatation prend une valeur singulière quand on rapproche de cette construction exceptionnelle (c'est le seul *Hoquet* de *Sederunt* comme de *Viderunt*) la disposition également exceptionnelle du quadruple *Mors.* Cependant, avant d'aborder cette pièce, il est nécessaire d'examiner le trope *Tuam* dont on a parlé plus haut.

Des trois strophes du trope, on prendra de préférence *Morte tu morti,* dont le texte appartient au groupe de *Mors* (*Ma.,* 13/13 V°).

Notation indifférenciée ne comprenant que des carrés, des pliques et des binariae (Cf. Planche 2).

* Comme ex. musical, cf. Aubry, *op. cit.,* no. CVI: "Hoquet gallice" (= CIV). V. aussi no. CVII.



(1) Je rappelle qu'il s'agit, dans W2, d'un triplum sans texte — (2) Il existe un trait vertical dans les 2 autres couplets. NB. Il existe un FA grave au début du 1er couplet, sur TU (deitati).

Le trope de *Ma.* s'interrompant sur la syllabe DI de *Misericordiam,* nous relèverons la version mélismatique dans *Fl.* et *W2* et on considérera qu'il s'agit d'un *triple,* la voix grave ne reparaissant qu'à l'accord final sur AM. Comme dans *Adjuva,* le motetus de l'organum devient le ténor du trope, le triple en devient le motetus et le quadruplum le triplum.

La copie ci-contre comporte les mélodies constitutives du trope sur les portées au-dessous desquelles sont inscrits les signes de notation mélismatique

L'examen de cette copie conduit aux observations suivantes:

1° le ténor se compose d'abord de quatre cellules identiques de rythme et d'écriture: 1 ternaria et 2 simples; puis de deux séries de chacune 13 éléments: 1 ternaria, 4 binariae, 2 simples (nous laissons de côté la cadence finale).

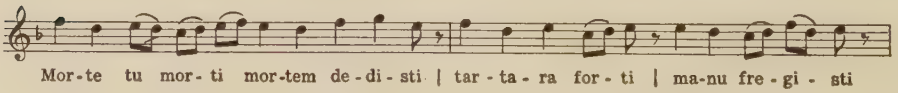
2° si l'on adopte le mélange des 1er et 5ème modes avec la noire pointée (3 temps) comme unité, on remarque que la première séquence du triple est de 24 temps (sans interruption), tant au trope qu'au mélisme et que cette série de 24 temps se reproduit rythmiquement sur: JURE . . . NITI et sur: ERGO . . . RICORDI . . .

3° les formules mélodiques ou rythmo-mélodiques reparaissent soit identiquement, soit avec de faibles variantes non seulement dans la première section (α), mais aussi dans les deux phrases de 24 temps de la deuxième section (β) (Cf. les lettres A B C C' D D' E F);

4° le fait que les quatre premières cellules du ténor se terminent par 2 L pourrait faire supposer qu'il s'agit d'un cinquième mode d'écriture garlandienne, et que la ternaria devrait se traduire par 3 L; on aurait ainsi une L par syllabe; mais les équivalences entre le trope et le mélisme, surtout dans la section β s'opposent à cette solution; il faut donc s'arrêter à un premier mode mélangé de quelques L (1er mode de Franco).

5° par là même, la solution binaire se trouverait écartée, bien que l'isochronisme soit suggéré par l'écriture indifférenciée du trope; il n'est d'ailleurs pas exclu que ce trope ait été chanté en isochrone binaire aussi bien qu'en trochaïque.

6° en effet, la transcription trochaïque montre que pour faire coïncider la première phrase: *Morte tu morti* avec le mélisme, tant au *motetus* qu'au *triplum,* les clivis et podatus du trope doivent être rythmés L B (et non B L comme dans les organa) (cf. supra); même remarque pour les deux cellules: *tartara forti* et *manu fregisti* (les pliques de la cellule I sont L B). On se souvient que le même rythme s'était imposé dans *Adjuva* (trope). Cette singularité conduit à supposer que ces deux binariae fondamentales dont le rythme est déjà précisé dans la *Positio* vers 1225 (B L) avaient en réalité conservé leur rythme primitif dérivé du grégorien: 2 notes égales — et qu'en conséquence elles sont des B binaires; on aurait ainsi:



7° Si l'on admet la possibilité d'une exécution isochronique binaire éventuelle, il faudra la prévoir, *par récurrence,* pour tout le triple *Sederunt* qui présente la même notation. Le trope apparait alors, non comme une

transcription rigoureuse de la polyphonie modale, mais comme une adaptation assez souple et en quelque sorte passe-partout du texte ligaturé, réalisée par un poète-musicien qui, ne se considérant pas lié par les *modi,* exploitait un compromis entre eux et le grégorien — à la manière des conduits du XII° siècle.

Dreves, qui connaissait les deux versions mais ne s'embarrassait pas des *modi,* a tout traduit en isochrone et, s'il n'avait pas scandé arbitrairement les deux dernières phrases, sa transcription, indépendante de la version organale, serait aussi valable qu'une transcription trochaïque.

Les vues qui sont ouvertes par l'analyse de ce trope, seraient précisées si nous en connaissions l'origine: le ms. *Ma.* est le seul, actuellement coté, qui contienne ce trope; nous ne savons s'il est original ou si au contraire il provient d'une copie plus ancienne actuellement perdue; nous ignorons aussi le lieu de la copie: France du Nord — ou du Sud — ou Espagne? La présence dans *Ma.* d'un motet à deux voix sur *Mors* qu'on ne rencontre dans aucun des autres mss. de ND. — dont *Fl.* est le plus complet — prouve qu'il existait à Paris même des exemplaires issus des *Volumina* ou du *Magnus Liber* dont parlent Garlande et l'Ano.IV, mais déjà différents les uns des autres. La copie de *Ma.* parait dériver des plus divergents.

Le motet à 4 voix sur *Mors* ayant été publié en Facs. et transcription par Y. Rokseth (*Poly. du XIII°*S), le motet à 3 voix par Aubry dans les *100 Motets,* on ne s'occupera que du motet à 2 voix (ténor et motetus) de *Ma.* (F° 104 V°) et, au point de vue de la construction du quadruple mélismatique de *W2* ou *Ma.*

La notation du *motetus* est semblable à celle qui domine dans le ms.: indifférenciée; ce sont des carrés avec çà et là des amorces de *cauda* [11]. Ces signes sont mélangés de quelques pliques et de conjoncturées.

En revanche, le ténor reproduit celui de l'organum: simples caudées et ligatures, celles-ci, des ternariae, formées en réalité de 3 longues égales; car il s'agit d'un 5ème mode garlandien et de la notation "économique" préconisée par ce théoricien. Le ténor de *Ba.* provenant d'une copie plus récente, ou plus modernisée que *Ma.,* ne présente que des caudées; l'*ordo* comporte: 1 L, 1 P, 3 L, 1 P dans la première section du ténor; dans la seconde section qui reproduit les formules de la première, les groupes sont séparés les uns des autres par deux barres d'un interligne dans *Ma.,* et par trois barres de toute la hauteur de la portée dans *Ba.*

Ma.: 1 L, P, 3 L, 2 P (d'un intervalle ou 1 1/2) au

Ba.: 1 L, PL, 3 L, 3 P.L. (de 4 intervalles)

[11] On remarque que plusieurs de ces carrés "presque caudés" correspondent à des brèves, et vice-versa.

Autre différence: dans *Ba.* les deux sections sont séparées par 5 pauses longues; dans *Ma.* par une seule; dans *W2* (1206) la première section se termine aux 4 voix par une pause, suivie au ténor de 2 barres de 2 et de 1 interlignes.

C'est la disposition du ténor et du contraténor de la seconde section de *Mors* dans *W2* (F° 5 V°) qui attire l'attention: elle reproduit celle qui est relevée dans le trope *Adjuva* que nous avons considéré comme un Hoquet.

Le ténor du motet à deux voix est très sensiblement celui de *W2* et le *motetus* comporte les mêmes notes et les mêmes pauses que le contraténor de *W2,* à cette réserve près que des suites de 2 ou de 3 notes séparés de *Ma.* sont représentées par des ligatures dans *W2* et par des alternances de L et de B dans *Ba.*

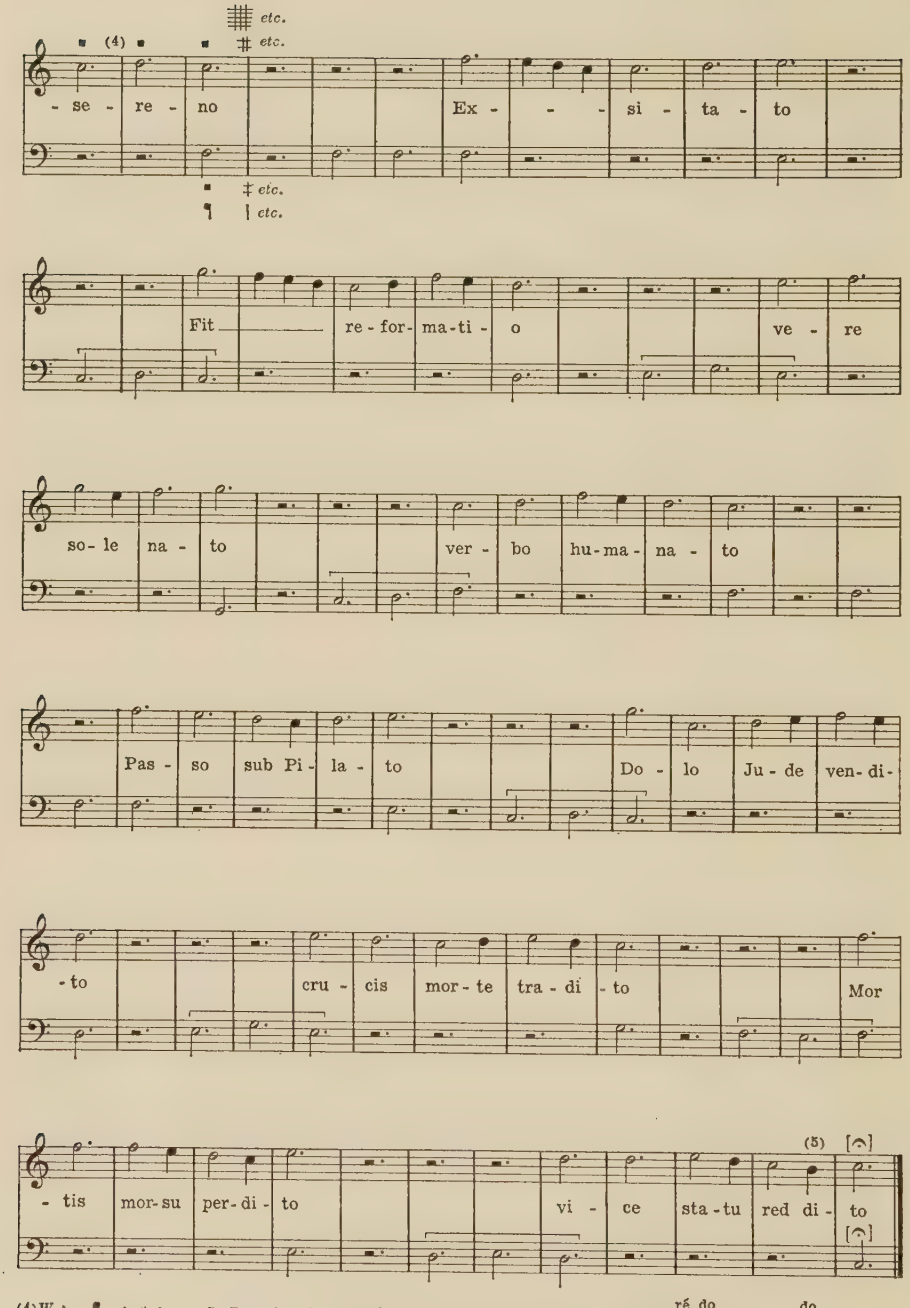
L'indifférenciation de la notation, et l'incertitude des barres qui représentent les pauses rendent la transcription de *Ma.* (104 V°) presque impossible, à moins de formuler quelques hypothèses préalables; en revanche, la confrontation de *Ma.* avec *Ba.* et *W2,* conduit à une traduction logique de ce motet, qui est apparemment la forme la plus ancienne de *Mors* — indépendamment de l'organum — celle d'où ont été tirés successivement le motet à 3 voix de *Ba.* et de *Fl.* [12] et celui à 4 voix de *Mo.* (cf. Planche 3).

[12] Dans ce Ms. (*Fl.*, 400 ss.) la notation est indifférenciée; dans les 2 vx. supérieures, des barres d'un ou de deux interlignes se trouvent aux mêmes emplacements que dans les autres mss. Dans la seconde section du ténor, les "ordines" sont séparés par deux barres de deux interlignes. L'exécution par trois chantres est impossible en

Ma 104v—105r: ♩.=84
Mors morsu
A
Mors mor - su
Vocalise ou instrument
na - to
Ba: nata
ve - ne - na - to*)
*) Ma: venato
Mors
(Mors)*)
etc.
Ma: mi
tu pa - la - to he - se - rans Vi - ti - a - to
Mors pec -
- ca - to pri - mo de - ri - va - to
Ex vi - ti -
Ma:
- o ve - nis a - vi - to
Fon - - te fel - li -
Ba:
- to fit cor - ru - pti - o
et ab - sin - ti - o
Ba: translato
tran - sac - - -
Ma
- to
Si ve - ne - no
B
cum ra - di - o
Ba:
Ma:
(1)Ba: sol fa mi ré
Wg: sol fa mi ré sol fa mi fa mi ré
Fl:
(2)Ba: sol fa mi ré sol la sol faré
Wg:
(3)Fl: Mors pec-ca-to

*) Ma: tenura de Mors morsu *(tenura est peu lisible)* fo 105ro

**) Dans l'organum Wg, le sol du ténor a été écrit soigneusement sous le sol du duplum.


etc.
(4)
etc.
- se - re - no
Ex - - - si - ta - to
etc.
etc.
Fit
re - for - ma - ti - o
ve - re
so - le na - to
ver - bo hu - ma - na - to
Pas - so sub Pi - la - to
Do - lo Ju - de ven - di -
- to
cru - cis mor - te tra - di - to
Mor
(5)
- tis mor - su per - di - to
vi - ce sta - tu red di - to

(4) W_2: sol do do (5) Dans *Ba* et W_2 le *si* est L_1 mais la cadence du tènor est ré do et non do.

Pour les raisons déjà invoquées à propos de *Sederunt,* il n'est pas possible d'établir la chronologie de *Mors.* Un seul fait est certain: le motet, voix et ténor, est d'une époque sensiblement plus récente que celle de Léonin, le *ténor* étant déjà extrait, construit et exploité à la manière classique du XIII° siècle. Du moins en apparence, car on ne rencontre dans *Mo.,* dans *Ba.,* dans les motets de *Fl., Ma., W.* etc. aucun ténor qui présente la division en deux sections dont l'une donne naissance à un Hoquet [13]. En revanche, nous avons relevé dans *Adjuva* une basse systématique engendrant le hoquet, mais il faut le reconnaître, indépendante de toute mélodie liturgique officielle.

Si l'on observe que dans les manuscrits *Mors* (organum) succède immédiatement à *Sederunt,* qu'il présente le même genre d'écriture, le même type de formules et de notation, et qu'il est étroitement apparenté à ce *Sederunt* par le Hoquet, on est conduit à supposer avec beaucoup de vraisemblance que Pérotin est l'auteur de *Mors,* donc d'un Hoquet à quatre voix (ou instruments, ou voix et instruments) qui serait un quadruple (cf. le triplex de Odington) dans lequel deux voix chantent en duo, tandis que les deux voix graves font le *Hoketus.* Cette remarque évoque, au surplus, les textes de Garlande décrivant le quadruplum comme donnant l'impression d'un double déchant.

Si *Mors* (quadruple sans texte) n'est pas de Pérotin, il devrait être d'un contemporain du vieux maître, aussi habile que lui, car cette polyphonie est un petit chef-d'oeuvre de construction; il serait singulier que ni Garlande qui semble s'être inspiré *de visu* des oeuvres de Pérotin, ni l'Ano. IV n'aient mentionné le nom d'un compositeur aussi adroit. En résumé, la probabilité pour que *Mors* soit de Pérotin doit être de 80 et même de 90% [14].

raison de la disposition même des voix; et la transcription est irréalisable ou livrée au hasard d'après la graphie; seul le secours des versions en notation modale peut permettre cette solution.

N.B. Si l'on retient que la deuxième section de la formule du motetus comporte la valeur de 8 L (5 L ou équivalentes et 3 PL), la dernière cellule doit s'écrire comme nous l'avons notée, sans tenir compte des notations de *W2, Mo.* (cadence finale) *Fl.* (3 vx.), *Ba.* qui cadencent non sur UT mais sur Ré-UT (ré-mi-ré — ré-do) et justifient donc un SI (L ou double L) au motetus.

[13] Cf. dans la *Positio discantus vulgaris* (C. I, 97) la plus ancienne définition du Hoquet (fondé sur un ténor de motet). Non signalée par Marius Schneider dans son étude — d'ailleurs sommaire — sur le *Hoketus, ZfMw* XI (1928-29), 390.

[14] On rencontre cette disposition alternante, mais à un bien moindre degré et non systematisée dans quelques autres pièces de ND.; Ex.: *Nativitas,* 3 vx. (attribué à Pérotin); *Adjuva,* 2 vx.; *Posui,* 2 vx. (Pérotin?) dans le *W2*; *Dies sanctificatus,* 2 vx. dans Fl. et quelques autres.

On peut, semble-t-il, faire l'inventaire des renseignements recueillis au cours de ce qui précède:

1° Existence dans *Ma.* de tropes en forme de conduits sur le quadruple de *Sederunt* attribué à Pérotin.

2° Notation indifférenciée de ces tropes, qui ne peut être traduite modalement que par la confrontation constante avec la version mélismatique considérée comme modale.

3° Impossibilité d'une traduction modale ou simplement trochaïque par alternance présumée des L et des B (Hypothèse Beck, Aubry, Ludwig, Rokseth etc.) sans recours à cette confrontation.

4° En revanche, possibilité d'une interprétation isochrone suggérée par la notation uniforme, note contre note et par les rythmes L B des binariae qui masque probablement le rythme égal (B B) et rattacherait ces conduits à ceux du XII° siècle.

5° Utilisation du Hoquet à 3 voix (*Adjuva*) et à 4 voix (*Mors*) tel qu'il est défini au début du XIII° siècle: *Adjuva* sur formules originales, *Mors* sur formules de "tenor" liturgique. Cf. *Positio.*

6° Genèse d'une oeuvre comme *Mors,* presque impossible à établir avec sécurité; le ténor de *Ma.* (les 2 versions), *Mo.* (motet à 4 vx.), *Fl.* (motet 3 vx.), *W1, W2* (incomplet), étant ligaturé provient d'une copie plus ancienne que celui de *Ba.* où les notes sont séparées. Ordre probable d'ancienneté de la version motet: *Ma.* (2 vx.), *Fl.* (3 vx.), *Mo.* (4 vx.), *Ba.* (3 vx.).

7° Le motet à 4 xv. de *Mo.* appartenant à un fascicule ancien du manuscrit, il est difficile de savoir si cette version avec texte a été tirée de la version mélismatique, ou si elle a été un arrangement modal (et instrumental) d'un Hoquet vocal à 4 parties.

8° Par récurrence, on doit se demander si les quadruples tropés de *Sederunt* ne sont pas des "arrangements" homorythmiques (avec texte) antérieurs aux mélismes, ou même à peu près contemporains de Pérotin (et peut-être de lui).

9° Le quadruple de *Mors* (mélisme) peut vraisemblablement être compté au nombre des compositions ou tout au moins des arrangements de Pérotin.

10° Outre le procédé du *Hoquet* (qui a d'ailleurs évolué dans l'école franconienne) la construction par imitation en contrepoint renversable dont parle Garlande est fondamentale dans les quadruples de Pérotin. On a même pu en conclure à la construction en canon.

11° L'art de varier un thème (une cellule mélodique) préside à toute composition.

L'impression qui se dégage de l'examen et de la lecture plus minutieuse des oeuvres de Notre-Dame ou de leurs analogues est, qu'en dépit des nom-

breuses études qui leur ont été consacrées jusqu'à ces derniers temps, elles sont loin d'avoir livré leur "substantifique moelle". D'une façon générale, les commentaires qu'on en fait, les transcriptions qu'on en donne, considérés comme définitifs, supposent des dates, des lieux, des principes théoriques, des procédés techniques qui, on l'a vu, ne permettent pas d'enfermer la réalité concrète. Pour ne parler que du rythme, la possibilité d'interpréter une oeuvre, soit modalement, soit en trochées, soit en binaire isochrone [15] apparait de plus en plus probable, même dans le cours du XIII°s. où elle représente la survivance des mesures non modales, réhabilitées vers 1300.

Quant aux instruments, leur présence dans les polyphonies à 3 vx. et à 4 vx. ne saurait faire de doute après ce qu'a écrit Garlande, d'après Pérotin. L'orgue devait déjà jouer un rôle important, mais nous ne pouvons aborder ici cette question.

Ainsi le bilan de nos analyses s'avère bien plutôt comme le point de départ d'un nouveau courant d'études que comme l'aboutissement de celles qui les ont précédées.

Paris

[15] Cf. nos *Notations non modales,* du XII-XIII° ss., pass. Ploix, Paris, 1958.

THE 14th-CENTURY MOTET AND ITS DEVELOPMENT

URSULA GÜNTHER

In the course of the 14th century the new treble-dominated polyphonic songs, in particular Ballades but also Rondeaux and Virelais, attained so great a popularity that the old motet-form gradually lost its appeal and was only cultivated to a very limited extent. A few statistics will clarify this trend. Although in the ms Montpellier H. 196 and in the transitional Roman de Fauvel motets are still almost the only polyphonic compositions, songs in several parts already predominate in the works of Machaut. If we include the monodic with the polyphonic Virelais, the figure stands at 96 Ballades, Rondeaux and Virelais against only 23 relatively early motets. After Machaut's death in 1377 the proportion of motets to songs became even less favourable, as one can see from the ms Chantilly, Musée Condé 1047 (*Ch*) with 99 polyphonic songs [1] compared with only 13 motets. The songs belong for the most part to the late French Ars Nova period, and must have been written before 1400, if we except the two later additions by Baude Cordier at the front of the manuscript [2]. The Modena ms, Bibl. Estense M.5.24 (*olim* lat. 568) (*Mod*) already reaches into the 15th century and has only 4 motets out of 100 compositions.

It is perhaps because composers themselves largely ceased to be interested in the motet form in the late 14th century that so little time has been devoted to it in modern musical research. H. Besseler's well-known study deals with the motet from Franco of Cologne to Philippe de Vitry [3] and contains an analysis of the form of all motets in the Machaut (*Mach*) and Ivrea (*Iv*) manuscripts [4]. Exemplary transcriptions of the Machaut motets are to be found in F. Ludwig's complete Machaut edition [5], which divides these works into their isorhythmic sections so that the form can be seen at a glance. A. Machabey gives individual analyses of these compositions in

[1] No. 13 is identical with no. 81 and is here numbered once only.

[2] Description and inventory by G. Reaney in *Musica Disciplina* VIII (1954), 59-113.

[3] 'Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters II: Die Motette von Franco von Köln bis Philipp von Vitry' in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VIII (1926), 137-258.

[4] Cf. the table, 222-224.

[5] *Publikationen älterer Musik* Jg. IV, 2, Leipzig 1929, reprint 1954. The new edition by L. Schrade, *The Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* II-III, Monaco 1956, was received too late to be considered here.

the second volume of his Machaut study [6], but does not summarise the most important conclusions. The motet after Machaut is only touched on briefly in Besseler's study, though E. Dannemann investigates the further history of the form till the early 15th century in her dissertation [7], which is mainly concerned with the compositions in mss. Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Can. misc. 213 (*O*) and Bologna, Bibl. del Conservatorio G. B. Martini, Q 15 (*olim* 37) (*BL*). The *Ch* motets only receive attention in a table which continues Besseler's analytical list. In any case Dannemann's conclusions are not always complete or correct [8]. Thus a detailed investigation of the *Ch* motets which deals with their formal peculiarities and their place in music history is still needed.

The present study takes as its starting-point the motets of Machaut and his contemporaries. These will be compared with the *Ch* motets to show just how far the older techniques lived on or were transformed in the late 14th century. The motets will also be compared with songs of the same period in order to establish distinctions between musical forms, particularly with respect to rhythm. Statistical methods are employed for this purpose and, though these may at times hide some of the details of the later, more complicated works and permit no consideration of temporal differences within the Machaut and *Ch* repertoire, nevertheless are indispensable in clearly revealing the essential features of the development.

With the exception of nos. 4, 21, 22 and 23, all the Machaut motets are to be found in the earliest Machaut ms *C* (Paris, Bibl. nationale, fonds français 1586). In contrast to the refrain forms, which partly appeared later, the complete motet repertoire appears already in ms *Vg* (New York, George Wildenstein collection, formerly in the possession of the Marquis de Vogüé in Paris), which can be dated from before 1365 [9]. If we accept a generally chronological order for the motets as they occur in the Machaut manuscripts, and this order has already been traced for the other forms, then doubtless 1356, the year when motet 23 was written according to F. Ludwig [10], should be considered as the *terminus ante quem.*

[6] *Guillaume de Machault, La vie et l'oeuvre musical,* Paris 1955.

[7] *Die spätgotische Musiktradition in Frankreich und Burgund vor dem Auftreten Dufays,* Strasburg 1936.

[8] Cf. pp. 62 f. The information is incomplete for *Ch* motets 5, 8, 9 and 12, and incorrect about rhythm in *Ch* 7, 11, 12 and 13, and about the relationship between Color and Talea in *Ch* 5 and 11.

[9] Cf. U. Günther, *Der musikalische Stilwandel der französischen Liedkunst in der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts, dargestellt an Virelais, Balladen und Rondeaux von Machaut sowie datierbaren Kantilenensätzen seiner Zeitgenossen und direkten Nachfolger* (unpubl. dissertation), Hamburg 1957, 45-53.

[10] Cf. Adler's *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte,* I, 2nd ed., Berlin 1930, 268.

Of Machaut's 23 motets 15 have a French and 6 a Latin text. Only nos. 12 and 17 [11] combine a Latin Motetus with a French Triplum. Moreover only 4 works are à 4 while the other 19 are à 3. It is interesting to find that the late motets 21, 22 and 23 have a Latin text, like the doubtless equally late Mass of Machaut, which, apart from the more syllabic Gloria and Credo, is also written in motet style. The evident turning away from French texts concerned with courtly love and the trend towards more complicated musical forms, necessitated by the four-voice texture, reveal a change in the aims and ideals of motet writing which is closely bound up with the emergence of the three-part polyphonic song on French texts in the middle and later periods of Machaut's creative activity.

In contrast to the songs, whose invention begins with the upper voice, the motets of the Ars Nova, like those of the previous century, start out with a Tenor which is mostly taken from Gregorian Chant. The melody forming the basis of the Tenor (Color) is frequently repeated several times and usually made up of a number of rhythmically identical periods (Taleae). If the upper voices also follow this scheme, the composition is an isorhythmic motet [12]. It is normal practice nowadays to include under this heading motets which have been termed isoperiodic [13] because the upper voices only follow the plan of the lower voices in a general way or have merely a few bars rhythmically identical in each Tenor period. Complete or virtually complete isorhythm will always be specially pointed out in the following investigation.

Having accepted these premises, we may say that only 3 of Machaut's 23 motets are not isorhythmic, namely nos. 11, 16 and 20. Their Tenors are monodic songs in Virelai or Rondeau form, hence these works belong to an older, Franconian layer of motet composition [14]. While there is no attempt to imitate the isorhythmic motet in no. 16, nos. 11 and 20 both have three hocket sections with identical rhythms in the upper voices, though the Tenors are always different.

In the Ars Nova period there are two different but equally important isorhythmic motet forms [15]. The first, unipartite kind consists simply of repetitions of the same rhythmic scheme. The second, bipartite kind is like the first type in its first half, but in the second half the Tenor appears complete but diminished in value with new, often more lively rhythms with frequent hocketing.

[11] These numbers are taken from the third vol. of Ludwig's complete edition.

[12] This formal arrangement was first discovered by F. Ludwig. Cf. 'Die mehrstimmige Musik des 14. Jahrhunderts' in *Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft* IV (1902), 41.

[13] Cf. H. Besseler, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VIII (1926), 201, n. 1.

[14] *Idem,* 225.

[15] *Idem,* 219.

Of Machaut's 20 isorhythmic motets 9 do not make use of diminution (nos. 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19 and 20) and 10 do (nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 18, 21 and 23). More complicated arrangements with varying combinations of time and prolation as well as diminution do not occur in Machaut. No. 6 is an exception, for the Tenor begins on the strong beat in the first half and, slightly altered, on the weak beat in the second [16]. At the end of each Talea a few bars of the upper voices show rhythmic identity, although the Tenor notes are different each time. Since there are clear textual correspondences here too, this work may be considered unipartite rather than bipartite.

The length of the Tenor period employed is of the greatest importance in the isorhythmic motet. Shorter rhythmic formulae predominate among the earlier Machaut motets. In two cases the Color is divided into as many as 6 Taleae (cf. nos. 1 and 10). As to some extent with Vitry, in some motets (nos. 1, 8, 10, 12 and 15) it takes two or three Tenor periods to make up one period of the upper voices. In the other 15 works the Tenor divisions occur at the same place as the upper voice ones. In a few compositions the length of a Talea is already longer than those usual in Vitry's compositions. Particularly nos. 4, 21, 22, and 23, which occur first of all in *Vg*, show clearly that longer isorhythmic periods are a late development in Machaut.

7 compositions reveal overlapping of Color and Talea, so that nos. 4, 7, 9 and 22 have 1½ Taleae to 1 Color ,no. 19 has 2½, no. 3 has 3½, and in no. 14 the Color is shorter than the Talea. According to the length of the melodic fragment employed, the Color may be used once, twice, three times or occasionally four times. In this respect it is interesting that two of the four-part motets derive the rhythm of the Contratenor from that of the Tenor. In no. 5 this is done by reading the Tenor backwards and in no. 23 by voice exchange.

Among the bipartite motets of Machaut the unschematic diminution of the Tenor, which is not infrequent in Vitry, occurs only once, namely in no. 2. While the Tenor rhythm in no. 1 is diminished by a third, in motets 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 18, 21 and 23 the reduction is only by half.

All the bipartite motets have hocket sections in the diminished parts, often quite extended ones which in three cases (nos. 4, 18 and 23) even lead to complete isorhythm. The opening sections of these works however

[16] O. Gombosi, 'Machaut's Messe Notre-Dame' in *Musical Quarterly* XXXII (1950), 220 interprets the altered Tenor rhythm as an inversion of the original Tenor formula, and concludes that the isorhythm is only part of the overriding symmetry of the whole work. According to Gombosi's somewhat forced explanation, the symmetrical centre is the first bar of the second half. The preceding Tenor rhythm appears in reverse with exchanged halves, with what was originally the first half read backwards.

are often quite free and slow-moving rhythmically, e.g. in nos. 5 and 23. Only no. 4 is almost completely isorhythmic [17]. Hockets occur in initial Talea measures in motets 1, 7 and 21. In no. 7 the hockets and the succeeding syncopated rhythms are diminished within the isorhythm like the Tenor. Complete isorhythm is only to be found in no. 15, and with minor deviations [18] in no. 13. Both works are unipartite, and on account of their lengthy periods and the somewhat complicated rhythms in the upper voices scarcely to be counted among the very early motets.

H. Besseler decided after examining the isorhythmic structure of Vitry's motets that complete rhythmic identity began with hocket sections [19], and analysis of the Machaut works seems to confirm this fully. Generally it may be said that complete isorhythm appears in the Machaut motets in all bars distinguished by more interesting rhythms. Strikingly enough, such rhythmic subtleties rarely occur in one part alone. Mostly syncopations in one voice go hand in hand with a hocket or another syncopation in another voice. The former case may be seen in motets 21 and 22, the latter in no. 8. In this composition the syncopated measures so to speak replace the missing hocket. By the use of syncopations or hockets, particularly striking bars rhythmically often occur at the same time as Tenor pauses or syncopations and thus help to make evident the form of the composition through their repetitions. Such measures may occur at the beginning (no. 9), in the middle (no. 4), but mostly at the end of a Talea (e.g. in nos. 8, 14 and 19). Here the most cleverly worked out sections are even repeated immediately. Isorhythmic sequences of this kind occur in nos. 14, 15, 19, 21 and 22. In no. 7 a sequential passage is created by the exchange of two interlocking upper voice rhythms. No. 22 even repeats an extended rhythmic complex exactly. Apart from hocket and syncopation, iambic movement also plays a part here.

This very common rhythm in the songs of Machaut otherwise only occurs in motets 14 and 15, always in connection with syncopation. In this form of composition it is therefore undoubtedly to be considered exceptional. The upper voice melodies of most Machaut motets move like those of Vitry [20], namely in regular semibreve-minim groups, only broken if at all by semibreves, breves or odd minim groups. For this reason the rhythm of the 18 motets employing major prolation [21], i.e. by far the greater number,

[17] Deviations occur in the last bar of the first three periods and in the Motetus, bars 27 and 130, and the Triplum, bar 35.

[18] Motetus, bar 104, and Triplum, bars 1 and 10, are irregular.

[19] *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VIII (1926), 201, n. 2.

[20] Cf. Besseler's remarks, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VIII (1926), 199.

[21] The following abbreviations are employed here to indicate the characteristic rhythmic concepts of the Ars Nova: mo. = modus, t. = tempus, pr. = prolatio,

appears far more unified than that of the chansons. In this connection it is interesting to find that only motet 20, which has a Tenor based on a monodic song, makes frequent use of iambics in the irregular manner characteristic of 14th century polyphonic song. The motets employing minor prolation are equally conservative. Only in completely isorhythmic measures which are repeated in every Talea are semibreve syncopations to be found. The only exception is no. 16, another motet with a monodic song in the Tenor.

Melodic analogies are far less frequent than rhythmic ones. They occur in nos. 2, 4, 7, 8 10, 15, 17 and 22 only [22]. These too serve to emphasise the isorhythmic pattern, particularly in no. 17, a work without a hocket. Here the last line of the Triplum in every Talea is identical, and this is made even more evident by enclosing the passage by pauses. In no. 15, bars 25-27 of every Talea are very similar melodically though not identical. Formally such resemblances at the end of periods exercise a similar effect to that obtained by the use of melodic rhyme in Ballades or the corresponding passages before the end of Rondeau sections. Such melodic correspondences in the upper voices of motets were originally unknown and suggest that cantilena pieces were the source of this procedure.

In spite of melodic and rhythmic analogies, the formal division of the motet into isorhythmic sections is very difficult to follow with the ear, partly because of the extreme length of upper voice periods in the completely or almost completely isorhythmic works (4, 13 and 15), but also owing to Machaut's careful concealment of period endings. Generally if one voice pauses, another will fill the gap at such points. A full cadence of all three or four voices only occurs extremely rarely at the end of a Talea, e.g. in the second part of no. 18, where however the early entry of a melisma in the Motetus reestablishes the customary continuity [23]. Similar transitional melismas appear in motets 1, 3, 14 and 17, again in the Motetus. The Motetus texts are without exception shorter than those of the Tripla, which in motets 3 and 9 have three times as many lines as the Motetus. Consequently a fairly complex strophic arrangement is often to be found in them, in the Motetus in motets 1, 9, 15, 22 and 23 and in the Triplum in nos. 1,

subpr. = subprolatio, ma. = maior, mi. = minor, p. = perfectus, -a, -um, i. = imperfectus, -a, -um.

[22] Cf. U. Günther, *Der musikalische Stilwandel* ..., 138-144.

[23] The motet "Li enseignement — De touz les biens" from the ms fragment Z 260 of the Bibliothèque Universitaire in Fribourg, Switzerland is considered as a genuine Machaut work by G. Zwick in *Revue de musicologie* XXX (1948), 28-57. H. Besseler already expressed doubts concerning the authenticity of this composition in the 4th vol. of the complete edition (Nachtrag zum Quellenbericht), and the fact that clear-cut chords end each period confirms his suspicions.

3, 7, 9, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 21 and 23. For the rest it is possible to find either lines of unvarying length which are identical metrically (e.g. in no. 20) or an irregular alternation of rhymes and linelengths. In most cases the lines are of the same length, often with two different rhymes occurring at regular intervals, though also one finds a pattern of differently rhyming couplets grouped together.

It is worthy of note that most works or individual voices with strophically built texts reveal correspondences between the musical and the poetic form. Fitting the text to the music after the latter has been composed or mechanically arranging the text under the music is only likely in motets 2, 3, 5 and 23. However, the late Latin motets 21 and 22 as well as the works with a Tenor based on a monodic song (11, 16 and 20) are not very convincing with regard to the textual underlay. On the other hand, clear parallels can be traced in both voices of nos. 1, 4, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 18, and in addition at the beginning of motets 9 and 10, the Motetus of no. 19 and the Tripla of nos. 17, 21 and 22 [24].

With regard to rhythm, Machaut's motets are extraordinarily conservative. The use of striking rhythms in the upper voices, which is infrequent and always carefully planned, has already been mentioned. Certain more complicated formulae which occur in other Machaut works are missing completely in the motets. One may mention the syncopated displacement of semibreves in triple prolation in the canonic Lais, the imperfection of breves *a parte ante* and the rhythm ♩· ♩ ♪ in $\frac{3}{4}$ time, which in some songs entails a change to $\frac{6}{8}$. Moreover, the chains of syncopations which are so popular in the later songs of Machaut and which, built up as they are from syncopated breves and augmented and syncopated semibreves, often refuse to be contained within a Modus group, are not to be found in the motets. The t. groups are more obvious than in comparable Machaut songs, since augmented semibreves only appear in conjunction with minims and syncopated breves only occur in the completely isorhythmic sections of the more complicated works. 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 ♩ is used for instance in motets 13 and 22, ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ in nos. 7, 8, 12, 14, 15 and 21, and mostly not in the Triplum but in the less active Motetus. In the second part of no. 7 diminution of this rhythm produces a change from t.i. to t.p. With this one exception, there is never a change in t. or pr. in the upper voices. On the other hand, the Modus may undergo changes in the course of a work but, apart from motet 20 which has a Tenor based on a monodic song, Modus is always

[24] The relationship between musical and textual structure in the motets of Machaut was studied in detail by G. Reichert, 'Das Verhältnis von musikalischer und textlicher Struktur in den Motetten Machauts' in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* XIII (1956), 197-216. See also U. Günther, *Der musikalische Stilwandel* . . ., 136-142.

present. Often it is only visible in the Tenor, which always proceeds exclusively in long note-values and in three motets even in mo. ma. Thus, while the Tenor never employs minims and only very rarely semibreves, the upper voices are more like the melodies of the secular songs, for long notes are at a discount and sometimes the longa itself is entirely omitted.

In several cases the Tenor formula itself causes the mo. to be broken by odd t. measures (e.g. at the end of the diminished Taleae of nos. 4 and 7), or mo. p. may change to mo.i., as in the diminution section of motet 3 and twice in each Talea of no. 17. Admittedly, here the change of measure concerns the Tenor alone. Both upper voices proceed in mo.i., only broken at bars 15-17 by a single perfect group, so that at the end of each Talea a syncopated longa works against the Tenor rhythm. A similar conflict between mo. groups appears in the opening sections of nos. 7 and 10. Isorhythmic sequences in nos. 13 and 22 produce an only slightly different mo. arrangement in the upper voices. Still more complicated rhythmic patterns are to be found when different mo. are combined in the Tenors and Contratenors of motets 5, 21 and 23. Taking Vitry for his model, Machaut has marked the change of mensuration in motets 5 and 23 by red notes, whose significance is additionally stressed in no. 23 by an explanatory canon. In motets 5, 10, 18, 21 and 23 the diminution of the Tenor produces a conflict between different t. groups in upper and lower voices. Thus rhythmic complications are not altogether absent even in the motets, but, unlike compositions in song style, these subtleties are mainly restricted to the larger note-values.

How differently Machaut treats the combination of mo., t. and pr. in the motets as compared with the chansons may be seen from the following table, which also lists the corresponding numbers among the *Iv* motets and the *Ch* pieces. These will be discussed separately on pp. 35 ff.

	Number of works	Presence of works with:						
		pr. ma.	pri. mi.	sub-pr.	change of pr.	change of t.	mo. mi.	mo. ma.
Machaut motets	23	18	5	—	—	1	22	3
Machaut chansons	96	38	58	—	3	6	44	—
Ivrea motets	33	27	4	—	—	2	33	7
Chantilly motets	13	6	3	—	4	8	10	1
Chantilly chansons	99	5	24	35	70	71	16	—

The most obvious and striking factor is the predominance of duple pr. among the chansons and its relative absence in the motets. Since Machaut only employs syncopation with pr. ma. by way of exception, though this feature is to be found constantly in pr. mi. compositions, the latter tend to be more interesting rhythmically [25]. The predominance of pr. mi. in the secular songs can hardly be due to Italian influence, as G. de Van suggested [26]. Rather is it the outcome of a desire for novel and more complicated means of expression concomitant with the rise of the new forms. The pr. ma. rhythm of the motets on the other hand may be considered as a conservative trait which drags on into the late Ars Nova period (cf. the corresponding remarks concerning the *Ch* motets). The same explanation may account for the fact that some of Machaut's songs already show changes of t. and pr. [27], while such transformations are totally absent in the motets (with the exception of no. 7).

The fundamental difference between song and motet style comes to light when one examines how far mo. is or is not present in both forms. In the motets it is always present [28], even though it may change, but the chansons show an increasing tendency to abandon long measures. This trend is closely paralleled by the rise of more complex rhythms. Indeed, less than half of Machaut's secular songs reveal the presence of mo., and even in these it is rarely employed throughout but must be considered as semi-obsolete.

Before analysing the *Ch* motets, it is necessary to establish the position of the Machaut works in relation to contemporary motet production, which is doubtless best exemplified in the ms *Iv* [29]. One must exclude from this survey the three Machaut motets which occur in *Iv,* namely nos. 8, 15 and 19 (= *Iv* 38, 32 and 16), together with the hybrid composition *Iv* 78 which can scarcely be classified as a motet [30]. The formal characteristics of

[25] See further U. Günther, *Der musikalische Stilwandel . . .*, 41.

[26] G. de Van, 'La prolation mineure chez Guillaume de Machaut' in *Sources,* Ie série, fasc. 1, Paris 1943, 27.

[27] Change of pr. occurs in Rondeaux 10 and 19 and Ballade 38, change of t. in Rondeaux 9 and 15 and Ballades 4, 26, 34 and 39. Cf. U. Günther, *Der musikalische Stilwandel . . .*, 96 f. and 113 f.

[28] The exception is motet 20, which has a Tenor based on a monodic song.

[29] Copies and transcriptions of the *Iv* motets were kindly loaned to me by Professor H. Besseler. The transcriptions in the unpubl. dissertation by M. J. Johnson, *The Motets of the Codex Ivrea,* Bloomington, Indiana, 1955, vol. II, were unfortunately not available when the present study was prepared.

[30] Cf. H. Besseler, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VIII (1926), 225. An inventory of the contents of the manuscript was published by H. Besseler in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VII (1925), 188-191.

the other 33 compositions are tabulated below together with the corresponding statistics concerning the Machaut motets.

	No. of motets:													Upper voice periods =		
	altogether	French texts	Latin texts	mixed	three-part	four-part	non-isorhythmic	isorhythmic	completely isorhythmic	almost completely isorhythmic	unipartite	bipartite	more than bipartite	n Tenor periods	1 Tenor period	exception
Machaut	23	15	6	2	19	4	3	20	1	2	10	10	—	5	15	—
Ivrea	33	11	20	2	24	9	4	29	4	1	14	14	1	4	24	1
Chantilly	13	3	10	—	4	9	1	12	7	1	6	4	3	1	11	1

The correspondences are in fact very striking. Considerable differences only appear in the proportions of Latin to French texts. In *Iv* Latin works predominate in the ratio 2:1. The fact that the French language is so prevalent in Machaut's works seems to be due to personal taste. Possibly his great poetic gifts may account for this predilection as well as the natural tendency to employ the mother tongue when writing verse. Three-part writing is again the norm in *Iv,* though not quite to the same extent as in Machaut. Among the 9 four-part works, there are 3 motets which are provided with a Solus Tenor. This certainly makes possible a three-part performance of four-part compositions, but destroys the isorhythmic framework by combining Tenor and Contratenor notes in a single melodic line.

As far as musical form is concerned, the correspondences are disconcertingly similar. Only nos. 8, 34, 35 and 76 are not isorhythmic. No. 35 employs a Rondeau for its Tenor and no. 76 an iambic melody which is stated 3½ times but can scarcely be derived from plainsong. H. Besseler [31] and G. Reaney [32] have already pointed out that these motets, which move mainly in longs and breves, belong to the oldest layer of the codex *Iv*. Moreover, the original notation has an archaic appearance due to the division of the page into two columns. The same is true of motet 34, whose upper voices only rarely employ minims. In nos. 8 and 34 the Tenor is certainly divided up isorhythmically, but the upper voices give no indication of fitting in with this design. Only motets 20 and 37 disclose isoperiodic

[31] *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VII (1925), 186.
[32] Article 'Codex Ivrea' in MGG VI (1958), column 1582.

sections in the upper voices, and here it is significant that no use is made of hocket technique.

Of the 29 isorhythmic motets, unipartite and bipartite works are equally well represented. The former construction is to be found in nos. 1, 4, 7, 11, 20, 21, 30, 36, 41, 51, 67, 72, 73 and 75, the latter in nos. 2, 6, 13, 15, 18, 24, 26, 28, 31, 37, 40 and 70. Only the Vitry motets 13 and 37 reveal an unschematic diminution of the Tenor. In all other cases the note-values of the opening part are diminished by a half. The obligatory hocket of the diminution section is only missing in motets 28, 37 and 40. In nos. 6 and 70 the diminution section has no text and may well be considered as an instrumental postlude.

Nos. 22 and 71 are bipartite hybrid forms. In no. 22 the two last of 9 Tenor periods are combined with two upper voice Taleae with striking hockets, and in no. 71 a Tenor rhythm of only 3 notes is reproduced 14 times in succession. The upper voices have 3½ periods to the first half of the Tenor and 7 short Taleae to the second. By their hockets the latter give the impression that this is a bipartite work.

The only piece with a form radically different from that of the other *Iv* motets is "Ida capillorum — Porcio nature" (*Iv* 9). This composition also occurs in the ms *Ch,* and, on account of its more complicated upper voice rhythm, must be considered as one of the most recent motets in *Iv*. Three diminished statements follow the four Tenor periods of the opening part, so that the work may be designated quadripartite. The Tenor appears successively in perfect mode, imperfect mode, perfect time and imperfect time, while one period of the upper voices = two Tenor Taleae.

It is normal in *Iv* too for the upper voice periods to coincide with those of the lower voices. The appearance of two short Tenor Taleae against one upper voice period occurs only in motets 9, 13, 22 and 71. The first part of no. 15 is exceptional insofar as here the reverse process occurs, so that two upper voice periods are the equivalent of one Tenor Talea. Overlapping of Color and Talea is to be found in 9 *Iv* motets, while the unipartite works nos. 4 and 51 have melodically free Tenors. Liturgical origin is unlikely because of the frequent leaps and sometimes rapid movement. In no. 4 the Tenor even has a text.

As with the Machaut repertoire, complete isorhythm is only present in a minority of cases, namely the bipartite motets 26 and 31 and the unipartite nos. 41 and 73. Rhythmic identity is almost exact in no. 2 as well. The last two are four-part works, and in no. 31 the extremely rapid declamation of the text in minims may be noted. No. 41 is remarkable for the Talea endings, which are clearly defined by long chords [33], while both

[33] Similarly striking cadential effects are only traceable in the almost completely isorhythmic motet 2 and the Vitry motet *Iv* 22.

nos. 41 and 73 employ pr. mi. which is relatively unusual in early Ars Nova motets. All these points suggest that these compositions should be dated with the latest in the manuscript.

Pr. mi. is in fact still rarer in the *Iv* motets than in the Machaut compositions in this form (cf. the table on p. 8). Apart from the above mentioned completely isorhythmic motets 41 and 73, it is indeed only possible to cite motet 4 with a melodically free Tenor and no. 11. On the other hand, there are 27 works in pr. ma., and, as with Machaut, it is mostly the dance-like trochaic rhythm which predominates. Spiky iambics occur only in motets 1, 6, 9 and 51. Motet 9 is here again exceptional, for it is the only work in the *Iv* repertoire which employs syncopated semibreves in pr. ma.

Together with this motet of a more complicated construction than Machaut's, *Iv* contains a few older compositions without pr. at all, namely the above mentioned nos. 35 and 76. In addition, the number of works employing mo. ma. is greater than in Machaut. Mo. mi. is always present, even if six works do not have it throughout. Change of pr. does not occur, and change of t. can only be found in the upper voices of two compositions, both of which (nos. 21 and 37) indicate the alteration by mensuration signs. Nos. 9 and 24 change the t. in the Tenor by diminution, while the upper voices retain the preceding mensuration. In no. 24 triple t. or mo. is indicated by the use of red notation. The red notes of the Tenor in no. 37 on the other hand reveal imperfect mo. Only the Tenor of no. 18 employs such colouration in order to introduce syncopation.

The conclusion to be drawn from the above stylistic analyses is that the *Iv* and Machaut motets are more or less contemporary with each other. Only a few *Iv* compositions are undoubtedly older than the works of Machaut, and no. 9 is exceptional on account of its more modern form and rhythm. Thus, as G. Reaney [34] rightly assumes, the *Iv* codex must have been written "about 1360".

The 13 motets from *Ch* are here referred to by the nos. 101-113 of G. Reaney's inventory [35]. Nine of these works can be dated with some degree of certainty. The titles of nos. 101, 102, 103 and 107 appear in the index to the lost ms *Trém,* which is dated 1376 [36]. Moreover, the appearance of nos. 101 and 102 in *Iv* is evidence that they are indeed early compositions. The three-part French motet 112 also clearly belongs among the older *Ch* motets, since it too turns up again in *Iv*. B. Trowell recently showed [37] that motet 111, in whose texts are to be found the names of 14 musicians

[34] MGG VI (1958), column 1581.

[35] *Musica Disciplina* VIII (1954), 94 f.

[36] H. Besseler, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VIII (1926), 235-241.

[37] 'A fourteenth century ceremonial motet and its composer' in *Acta Musicologica* XXIX (1957), 65-75.

working in England between 1340 and 1380, was written by Johannes Alanus before 1359, probably for an important gathering of the members of the Order of the Garter at Windsor in 1358. In no. 104 the text implores the help of Pope Gregory XI (1370-1378). Since Gregory left Avignon in September 1376, returning to Rome where he arrived in January 1377 and died in March 1378, it seems likely that the composition was written during Gregory's sojourn in Avignon. The text of no. 106 praises King Charles V (1364-1380) as peacemaker [38]. This work must have been written after 1375, when the truce of Bruges ended six years of war against England [39]. Motet 109 dedicated to Gaston Phébus (1331-1391) is less easy to date, but stylistic grounds suggest that this extremely complicated work was not composed before 1380 [40].

It is clear that a number of the motets from *Ch* go back to the time of Machaut, so that the groups of works to be analysed overlap somewhat from a chronological point of view. Nevertheless, in respect to form, there are striking differences between the *Ch* motets and the already analysed Machaut and *Iv* repertoire.

Motets with French texts become gradually rarer in the second half of the 14th century. *Ch* contains only 3 works of this kind, namely nos. 107, 112 and 113. Nos. 107 and 112 belong clearly to the Machaut period, as already indicated. Moreover, the simple pr. ma. rhythm of no. 113 together with its short isorhythmic periods and normal bipartite structure point to a relatively early date. All three compositions have secular texts dealing with love, which connect up in some way with the Tenor text incipits. This correspondence is quite amusing in no. 107 for, while the upper voices depict the burning fire of love, the Tenor has the words "Ego rogavi Deum ut ignis iste non daretur michi".

Six of the ten Latin motets deal with religious subjects. Nos. 101, 103 and 105 are in honour of the B.M.V. In no. 102 a certain "Henricus" prays to St. Ida of Boulogne for intercession in his hour of need, for he is dying [41]. No. 104 is concerned with the dire needs of the Holy Land at the time of Pope Gregory XI, while no. 106 is a prayer for divine assistance on behalf of King Charles V [42]. As mentioned above, motet 109 with the Tenor incipit "Admirabile est nomen tuum" is dedicated to Gaston Phébus,

[38] The lines concerned are the following: "Nam gladio gentis ancipite per te pulso remote domui tue pax est nunc pacis reddite".

[39] A formal armistice was never concluded.

[40] Cf. G. Reaney, article 'Gaston Phébus' in MGG IV (1955), columns 1442-43.

[41] Ch. van den Borren gives full details of the origin and concordances of this work in *Le manuscrit musical M. 222 C. 22 de la Bibliothèque de Strasbourg,* Antwerp 1924, 129-134.

[42] Cf. *Idem,* 54-57.

count of Foix and Béarn. A similar transference of meaning in the secular field is to be found in the three-part motet 110 with the Tenor "Letificat juventutem meam", whose Triplum begins and ends conservatively with the words "multipliciter amando". Nos. 108 and 111 are musician motets like those to be found in *Pic* (Paris, Bibl. nationale, Coll. de Picardie 67) no. 5 and *Iv* no. 20 [43].

The predominance of four-part rather than three-part compositions in the late 14th century is characteristic of motet writing at this juncture. Nos. 101-109 are all four-part works, and in no. 109 there is a Solus Tenor as well as the regular Tenor and Contratenor. In no. 106 the original Tenor is replaced altogether by a Solus Tenor.

The trend towards complete isorhythm is also highly significant. Out of 12 isorhythmic motets 7 (nos. 104, 105, 107, 108, 110, 111 and 113) are of this type, and moreover no. 103 shows only minor deviations from the prevailing patterns. It is certainly no coincidence that the remaining motets 101, 102, 106 and 112 were already in existence during Machaut's lifetime.

Works based on Tenors built on monodic songs are completely lacking in *Ch*. The only non-isorhythmic composition "Inter densas — Imbribus" (no. 109 on Gaston Phébus) is extremely complicated and divided up into so many sections that identical rhythmic repetitions are impossible. There are altogether eight statements of the very short Tenor melody, which has a different rhythm on each appearance. These changes are prescribed by a "canon", but are clearly visible in the notation of the Solus Tenor, which takes only a few notes from the Contratenor during the pause at the end of each Tenor Color. The combinations of pr., t., mo.mi. and mo.ma. can be seen from the following table. The resulting quota of minims which can be contained within one of the large Tenor bars is given in the last column in each case.

Statement	pr.	t.	mo. mi.	mo. ma.	Length of measure
1	ma.	p.	p.	p.	81 min.
2	ma.	i.	p.	i.	36 min.
3	mi.	p.	i.	p.	36 min.
4	mi.	i.	i.	i.	16 min.
5	mi.	p.	p.	p.	54 min.
6	mi.	i.	p.	i.	24 min.
7	ma.	p.	i.	p.	54 min.
8	ma.	p.	i.	i.	36 min.

[43] Cf. H. Besseler, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VIII (1926), 218.

A comparison of barlengths shows that in the first four statements it is a question of progressive diminution to ever shorter values. The continuation however is far less systematic. The length of the Tenor bars in parts 1, 4, 6, 7 and 8 is at variance with the upper voices. Conflicting rhythms only occur however between the larger note-values, since the minims are always equivalent in value. It is interesting to find that the Solus Tenor is written in pr. ma. without mensuration signs or red notes, although it has the same changes in mensuration as the Tenor. In order to make clear which notes were duple and which quadruple in value, it became necessary to divide single notes into several written at the same pitch. In the other voices this difficulty is overcome by using red notes, imperfection or syncopation. There can be no doubt that such a complicated rhythm and multipartite form belong to the late Ars Nova period.

Such a composition as the above must be considered as a rare and unusual *unicum* in late medieval motet writing. It approaches what might be called nowadays Variation or Passacaglia form. The other two multipartite works are regular isorhythmic motets with two or three diminution sections instead of one. The latter is the already mentioned *Iv* motet "Ida capillorum — Porcio nature" which occurs again in *Ch* as no. 102 [44], the former "Sub Arturo — Fons citharizantium" (Ch 111) [45]. In this work a "canon" gives the following indications of t. and pr.: „Primo de tempore perfecto maioris, Secundo de tempore inperfecto maioris, Tercio de tempore inperfecto minoris". One Color is equivalent to three Taleae of eight measures in imperfect mo. [46]. The Triplum on the other hand remains throughout in $\frac{6}{8}$, and the Motetus varies little from this norm. Red notation in the Motetus indicates that semibreves and breves are duple, though the minim does not change its value. Thus in some parts of the first section there are often two and occasionally three different types of measure in operation simultaneously, though no conflict results between the smallest note-values. Nevertheless, the rhythmic complications of this work are considerably greater than those to be found in Machaut. This fact is worthy of note, since, if the work was indeed written in 1358, it is contemporary with the latest motets of Machaut. The same is true of the late secular songs of Machaut. If they are compared with datable songs by contemporary musicians, it is clear that the late works of Machaut are rhythmically conservative [47].

[44] See the remarks on p. 36 f.

[45] Edited by R. von Ficker, 'Sieben Trienter Codices (Sechste Auswahl)' in *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich,* vol. 76, Vienna 1933, 9-11.

[46] E. Dannemann erroneously gives C = T instead of C = 3T, and 8 p𝅝 for 8 i⊙ on p. 63 of her dissertation.

[47] See further U. Günther, *Der musikalische Stilwandel* ..., 206, and *Zehn*

With regard to the growing popularity of multipartite motets, it is significant that the motet "Sub Arturo — Fons citharizantium" turns up again in the later ms *BL* with hollow black instead of red notes and the indication instead of the "canon". In this connection it will be interesting to take a brief look at the previously mentioned motets from *Mod.* No less than three out of four compositions are multipartitite in form. Apart from the quadripartite *Iv* motet "Ida capillorum — Porcio nature", which appears once again in *Mod,* there are two tripartite works very similar to the *Ch* motet which has just been analysed. The first motet opens the codex and is by Matheus de Perusio. This "Ave sancta mundi" [48] with identical text in the upper voices has a Tenor with the text "Agnus Dei . . ." which proceeds at first in the second rhythmic mode, then changes to t.p. and finally to pr. ma. In the first part of the Triplum and Motetus there are two completely isorhythmic segments and in part two a third corresponding to them. The third part repeats the upper voice rhythms of part two in diminished form. The upper voices combine t.i. with pr. mi., and in parts one and two imperfect mode is also present. Diminution produces subpr. in part three. Throughout the composition the $\frac{2}{4}$ or $\frac{4}{4}$ bars of Triplum and Motetus are at variance with the triple rhythm of the Tenor. Thus the barlines of the upper voices only fall at the same time as those of the Tenor after every three bars of the upper voices.

In "Laurea martirii — Conlaudanda" (*Mod* 6) [49] the note-values of the Tenor are reduced by a half on the first repetition and by two thirds on the second, giving this succession: 8i⊙, 8𝔠 and 8i○. To each Color there are two strictly isorhythmic periods in the upper voices with totally different mensurations from those in the Tenor: 8p𝔠, 8⊙ and 8i𝔠. In the second part this produces conflicting rhythms (9:6 or 3:2) among the minim values. The rhythmic complications are heightened by semibreve syncopations in pr. ma., by the introduction of subpr. and by frequent changes to pr. mi. (red notes). Such procedures exceed even those normal in *Ch,* which is probably sufficient ground for dating the *Mod* pieces later.

Having considered the more modern multipartite motets, let us examine the normal bipartite works *Ch* 104, 107, 108 and 113. These are without exception strictly isorhythmic, although hocketing only takes place in the diminished sections. In no. 108 the Tenor appears first in three statements of 7 perfect mo. + 5 perfect f. measures, and then diminished in three

datierbare Kompositionen der ars nova, Schriftenreihe des musikwissenschaftlichen Instituts der Universität Hamburg, Heft II, 1959.

[48] F. Fano, *La Cappella Musicale del Duomo di Milano. Parte prima — Le Origini e il Primo Maestro di Cappella: Matteo da Perugia,* Milan 1957, 191.

[49] *Idem,* 306.

statements of 12 imperfect mo. measures. The upper voices are similarly constructed in each major section with three corresponding periods which proceed in pr. ma. Apart from semibreve syncopations, there are only changes between t.i. and t.p. in the opening section.

In the other motets the Tenor is diminished by a half in the second major section. The four periods of part one of no. 104 comprise 31 measures in t.i.pr.ma., while the four periods of part two, which surprisingly enough have no text, are made up of 31 pr.ma. groups. A consistent arrangement of mo. or t. does not occur [50], since the use of red notation often changes the mensuration from a triple to a duple one. The upper voices frequently employ semibreve syncopation in the prevailing pr.ma. Moreover, red notation or *puncti syncopationis* are responsible for changes to t.p.pr.mi. This composition, which was written between 1370 and 1376 [51], is clear evidence that the previously straightforward and unified arrangement of measures had already begun to disintegrate during Machaut's lifetime.

In the first part of motet 107 [52], which was composed before 1376, there are three periods of 16 imperfect mo. measures each, while part two has three periods of 16 imperfect t. measures [53]. The lower voices are so complicated that the ear can perceive no prevailing mo. or t. arrangement, even though the upper voices in pr. ma. are quite without rhythmic peculiarities.

No. 113 on the other hand has a very simple Tenor rhythm which moves in mo.p. in the first three Taleae and in t.p. in the three periods of the diminished part. The upper voices change over at the same time as the Tenor from mo.p. t.i. to t.p. [54]. Since the prevailing pr.ma. employs only the simplest rhythms, this three-part composition with a French text must be reckoned among the older *Ch* motets.

The six pieces which have hitherto not been discussed, nos. 101, 103, 105, 106, 110 and 112, are unipartite in form. The older nos. 101, 103 and 112, which already appear in *Iv* or *Trém,* are simple in rhythm and structure and scarcely distinguishable from motets by Machaut. No. 112 falls into six very short periods of 5 perfect mo. measures each, of which only the last two are strictly isorhythmic. No. 101 [55] has three fairly long sections of 9 perfect mo. measures each and a rather irregular Tenor rhythm

[50] E. Dannemann, *Die spätgotische Musiktradition* ..., 63 gives an erroneous analysis of this work.

[51] Cf. the remarks on p. 39.

[52] Edited by G. Reaney in *Musica Disciplina* VIII (1954), 106-113.

[53] E. Dannemann, *Die spätgotische Musiktradition* ..., 63 gives 8◯ by mistake.

[54] E. Dannemann, *Die spätgotische Musiktradition* ..., 62 is wrong when she gives 9⊙ for part one and ☾ for part two.

[55] Edited by H. Besseler, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VIII (1926), 254-258.

due to the presence of syncopated breves. In both compositions the upper voices proceed in t.p.pr.ma. without iambics. No. 103 is rather more modern in appearance, owing to the use of t.i.pr.mi. in the upper voices, longish chains of syncopated semibreves, rapid declamation of the text in the Triplum and almost complete isorhythm in its four periods. Nevertheless, it has a simple Tenor formula which reveals the mo.p. clearly.

Considering its relatively early date, motet 106 (on Charles V), which has come down to us with only a Solus Tenor, is rather unusual. The vocal introduction or Introitus begins with imitation between Triplum and Motetus. Each of the 5 periods starts in t.p.pr.mi. and then goes over to t.i.pr.mi., with red notes for the long values in the lower voices. There is no prevailing mo. and only the final sections in imperfect mensuration are completely isorhythmic. They end, after a long chain of syncopations in the Triplum, with a rhythmic sequence which is equally rapid in all four voices and closes with a held chord. Here then the end of a period is intentionally stressed by greater rhythmic activity and long-held final chords, which can certainly not be said of the Machaut motets.

Still more striking is the end of motet 110's three very long periods (12 p𝔠). Here the upper voices twice change from t.i.pr.ma. to t.p.pr.mi (bars 9, 18 and 28 and correspondingly) and finally move into t.p.pr.ma. (bar 31). The length of the t. measures remains the same and in the Tenor perfect mo. is visible. Sections in $\frac{3}{4}$ are in red full, those with triplet movement in hollow red notes. In the 35th bar of each period conflicting rhythms occur between the differing minim-values due to the simultaneous use of both mensurations. Such a situation is to be found in none of the other *Ch* motets, hence this work, strictly isorhythmic as it is, must be considered as relatively recent in origin. A reconstruction of this extremely interesting work is only possible by observing the exact rhythmic correspondences, because the errors in the original manuscript are especially numerous in this piece. Here it may suffice to mention that scribal errors are particularly frequent in the second Talea of the Tenor. Since the Tenor melody appears twice in the course of the composition, the second Color beginning at bar 55, a reconstruction of the missing notes of the first Color (bars 40-42 and 51-52) becomes a possibility.

The last unipartite motet, no. 105, has an unusually complex structure. The red and black notes of its Tenor can only be interpreted by reading the accompanying "canon". This prescribes that, contrary to normal usage, the red notes are perfect and the black imperfect. Hence a transcription of the Tenor necessitates changes from $\frac{3}{2}$ to $\frac{2}{2}$ or $\frac{3}{4}$ to $\frac{2}{4}$. The "canon" also indicates that before the pause, all note-values are to be halved and each Talea read backwards. The same section then follows in the same diminished fashion but reading forward from the first to the last note, so that the original

succession of notes is reestablished. The upper voices of this final section have no text and may thus be instrumental. Altogether there are four sections constructed on the above principles, but only part three is rhythmically identical with part one. Sections two and four make use of another rhythmic scheme in identical fashion, and, apart from the initial half-note, they may be derived from the first formula by reading backwards. Like the Tenor, the upper voices are made up of only two strictly isorhythmic sections [56], which are divided into two similarly disposed parts. This arrangement is emphasised by the four textless endings followed by Tenor pauses. Furthermore, noteworthy rhythmic passages like sequences and hockets only occur above diminished Tenor sections. Sometimes the upper voices proceed with complete self-sufficiency above the changing t. measures of the Tenor, in particular during the sequences of parts two and four. Pr. mi. is maintained throughout.

In conclusion it may be said that only this composition reveals an out-of-the-ordinary combination of Tenor Talea with upper voice periods [57]. Two short Taleae beneath one upper voice period may be found otherwise only in *Ch* 102, the quadripartite motet from *Iv*. In all other compositions the formal divisions of the Tenor and the upper voices are identical. Overlapping of Color and Talea occurs in nos. 101, 110 and 113, where two Colores are equivalent to three Taleae. By way of exception the Color is of the same length as the Talea in motet 109.

The individual analyses of the *Ch* motets have already shown that important changes have occurred in regard to rhythm since the time of Machaut and the *Iv* repertoire (cf. the table on p. 8). Mo.ma. measures are only to be found in no. 109, where however each of the eight periods produces a different combination of mo., t. and pr. In three works (nos. 104, 105 and 106) mo.mi. is no longer visible throughout, while in nos. 102, 108, 109 and 111 it is at least maintained in individual Taleae. Nos. 107 and 113 retain it exclusively in the opening sections.

Particularly characteristic of later 14th century motet writing is the change of t. which appears in the majority of the *Ch* works. In motets 105, 106, 108 and 113 there is an alternation of measures of variable length with however identical pr. In no. 113 this occurs only once, at the beginning of the diminished section, but in no. 106 once in each period. Change of mensuration is more frequent in nos. 105 and 108 but not simultaneously in all voices.

Motets 104, 109, 110 and 111 combine change of t. with varied pr.

[56] Only the measures leading to part three do not correspond to the introduction.

[57] E. Dannemann's C = 3T in *Die spätgotische Musiktradition* . . ., 62 does not do justice to this complicated structure.

Mostly this entails opposing $\frac{6}{8}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$, which, as pointed out, already occurs in the secular songs of Machaut. The $\frac{3}{4}$ rhythm is generally written in red notes but may also be indicated by the syncopation of black semibreves in $\frac{6}{8}$. The combination of $\frac{6}{8}$, $\frac{2}{4}$ (or $\frac{4}{4}$) and $\frac{9}{8}$ measures in nos. 109 and 111 is more complicated. While all voices of these two works are constantly held together by the regular minim beat, in no. 110 the subdivision of perfect t. measures is alternately duple and triple, causing conflicting rhythms to occur between minim values.

If we consider that the above mentioned compositions with change of pr. are predominantly in pr. ma. while only three motets have pr.mi. throughout (nos. 103, 105 and 106), it is clear that there is still a majority of pr.ma. works. Admittedly with the reservation that pure pr.ma. pieces are mostly older *Ch* motets. Semibreve syncopation in pr.ma. does not occur at all in Machaut's motets, but in *Ch* it is to be found in five works of this kind (nos. 102, 104, 108, 109 and 110). The rhythmic complications tend to increase among the smaller note-values, while mo. groupings gradually disappear. To be sure, subpr. appears first in the later motets from *Mod,* while in *Ch* as in Machaut the smallest note-value used in motets is the minim.

Here a very striking contrast between the motets and the secular song repertoire of *Ch* comes to light, for in no less than 35 out of 99 works in cantilena form the minim is subdivided into semiminims, etc. The style of many songs is therefore essentially more progressive than that of the contemporary motet. Further confirmation is provided by the statistical table on p. 34 (Chantilly Chansons, bottom line), which shows that only 5 songs have pr.ma. rhythm throughout as against 24 with pr.mi. The other 70 chansons have varied pr., though it is evident that there are more with prevailing pr.ma. rhythm than with pr.mi. Nevertheless, there is a far more balanced relationship between these two forms of rhythm than in the motets. Varied t. mensuration occurs in 71 compositions of cantilena type, and 64 of these works change t. and pr. simultaneously. Mo.mi. measures are traceable in 16 works, though only 7 pieces are in this mo. throughout.

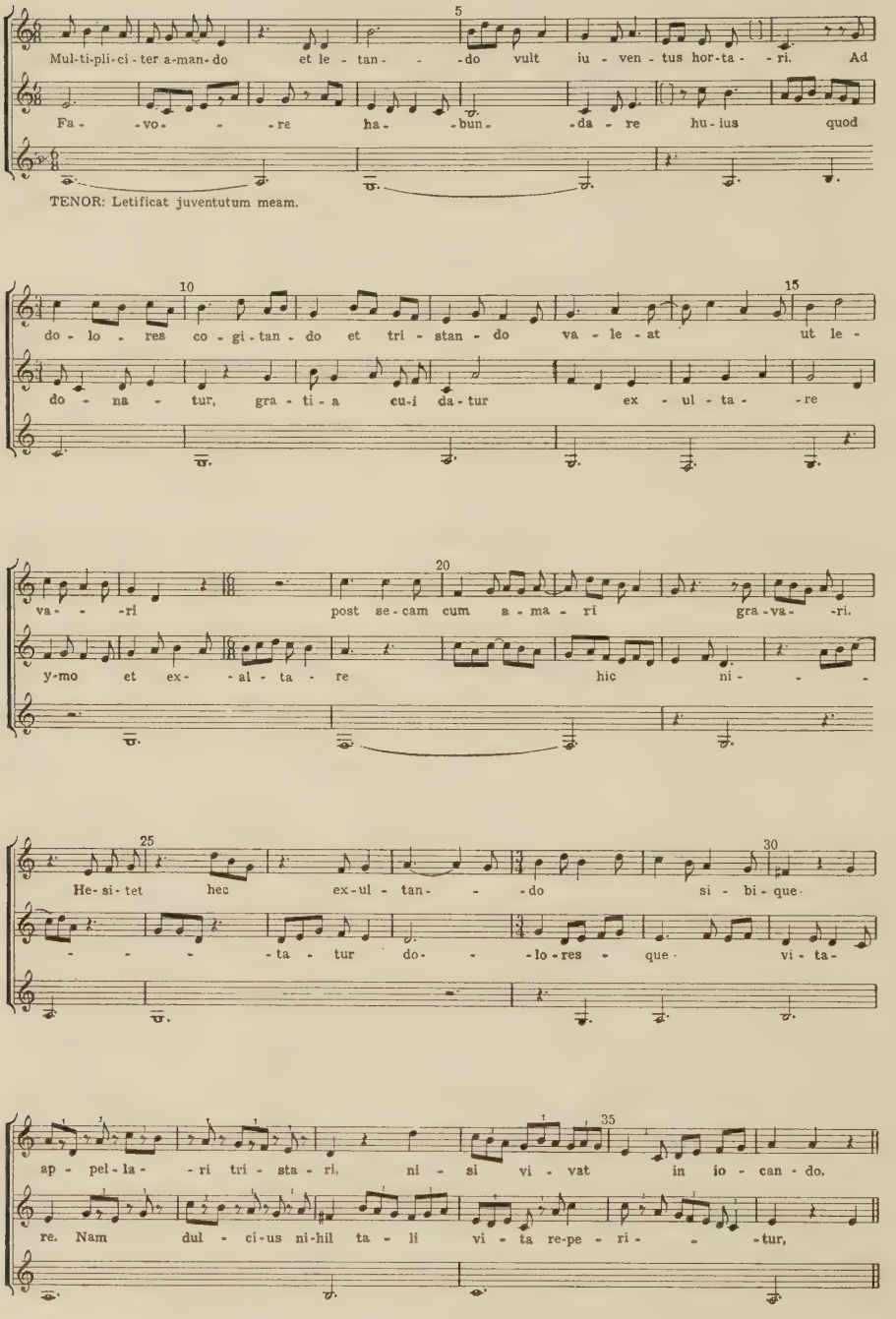
These statistics prove that rhythmically complicated works are far more frequent in the late 14th century chanson repertoire than in the contemporary motet. Indeed, many cantilena pieces go far byond the degree of complexity to be found in the motets in this respect. Continual changes of mensuration, conflicting rhythms and long chains of syncopations make it impossible to give a satisfactory picture of the development in this field

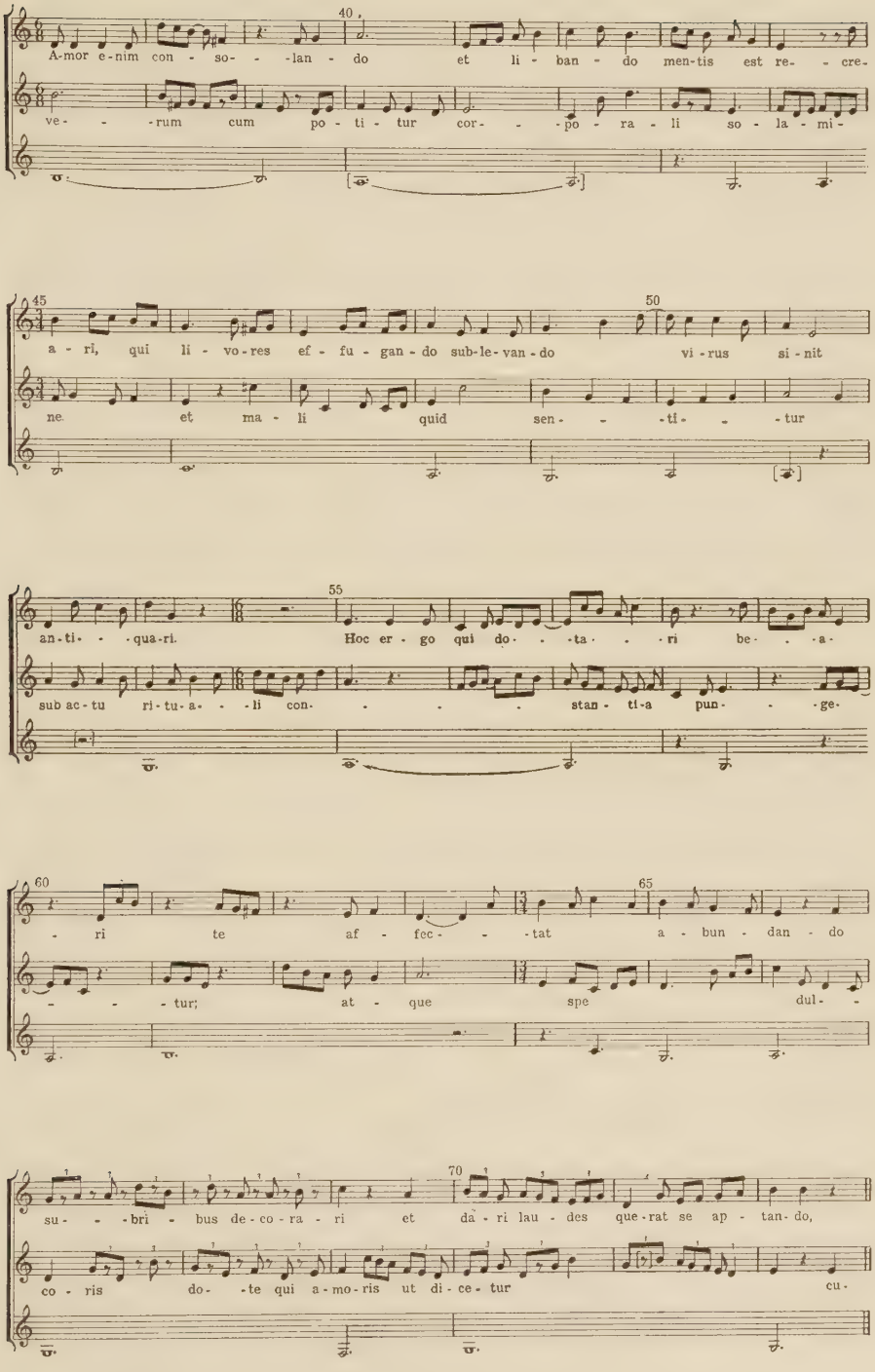
[58] W. Apel, *French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century,* Cambridge (Mass.) 1950, no. 34. Facsimile pl. IV.

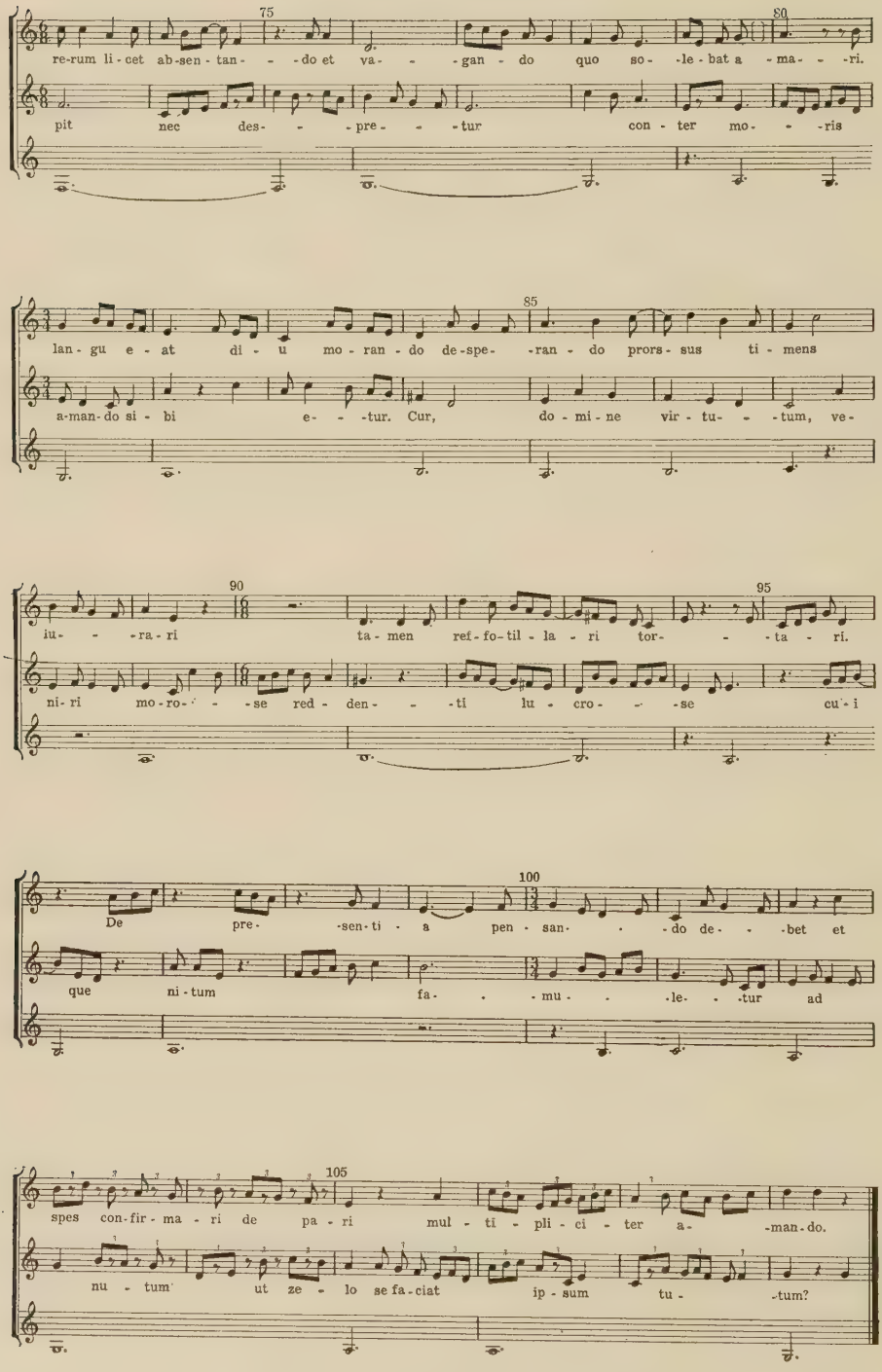
[59] *Idem,* no. 48. Facsimile pl. VI.

by statistical methods. Sometimes even new note-shapes and notes in more than one colour are employed for the representation of particularly intricate rhythms. Compared with works like Solage's "S'aincy estoit" [58] and Jacob de Senleches' "Je me merveil" [59], the most advanced of the *Ch* motets seem straightforward enough. The cleft between the motet and secular song styles, which is already apparent in the works of Machaut, becomes still more apparent towards the end of the 14th century. Indeed, the motet with its long tradition as an art-form of the first rank has had to give way before the more modern polyphonic song.

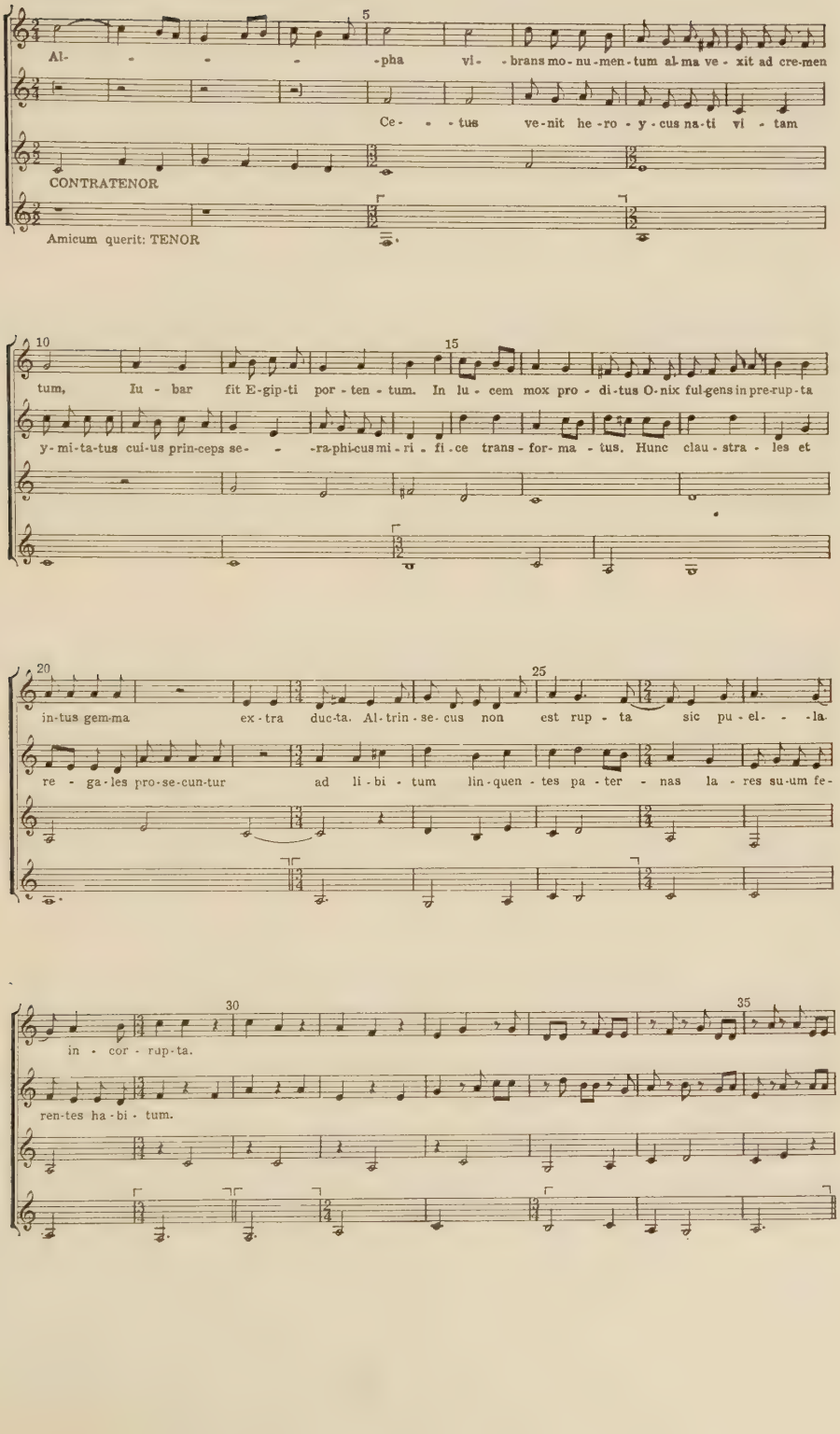
I

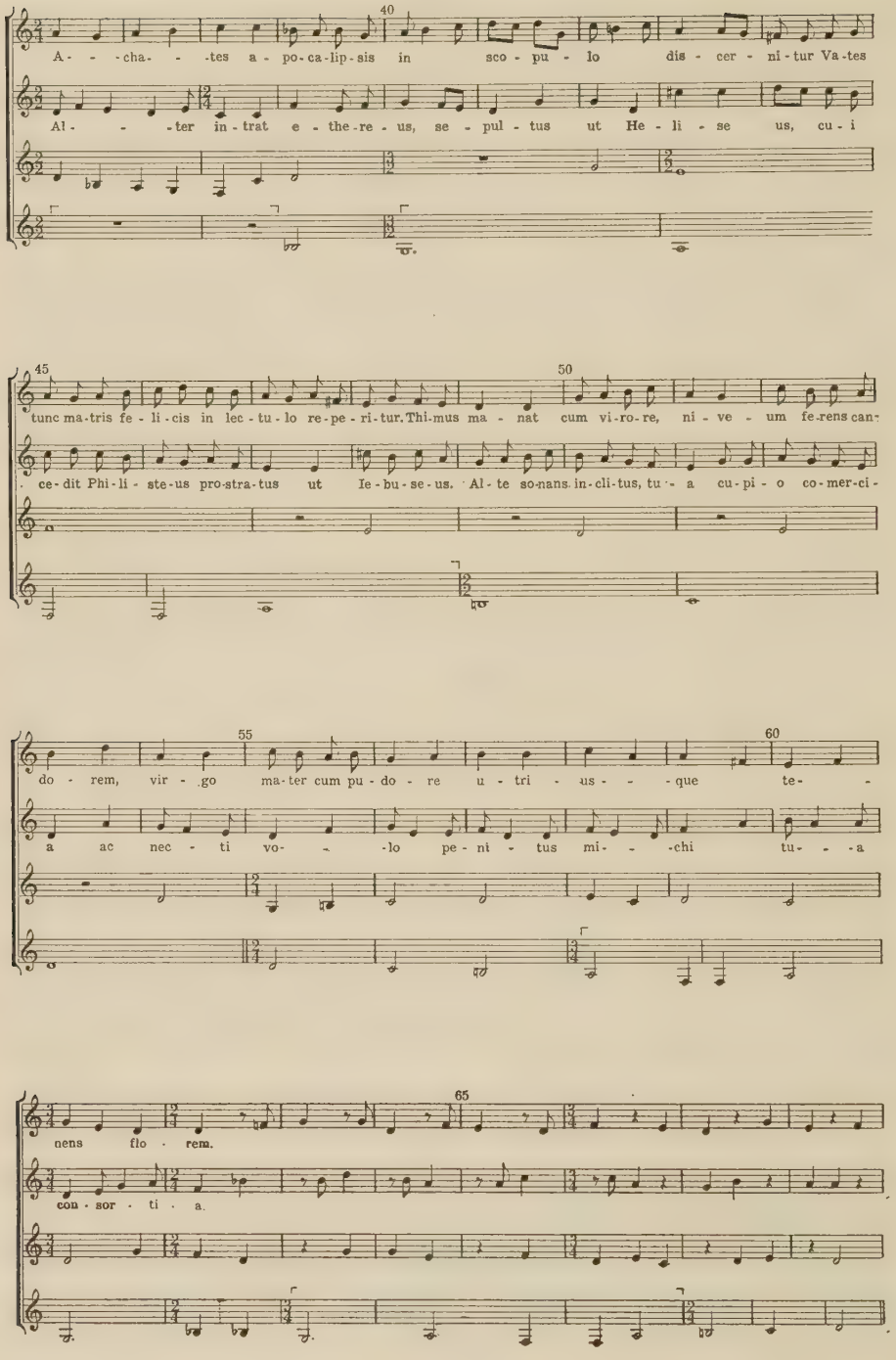

Mul-ti-pli-ci-ter a-man-do et le-tan--do vult iu-ven-tus hor-ta--ri. Ad
Fa--vo--re ha--bun--da-re hu-ius quod
TENOR: Letificat juventutum meam.
do-lo-res co-gi-tan-do et tri-stan-do va-le-at ut le-
do-na-tur, gra-ti-a cu-i da-tur ex-ul-ta--re
va--ri post se-cam cum a-ma-ri gra-va--ri.
y-mo et ex--al-ta-re hic ni---
He-si-tet hec ex-ul-tan--do si-bi-que
---ta-tur do--lo-res que vi-ta-
ap-pel-la--ri tri-sta-ri, ni-si vi-vat in io-can-do.
re. Nam dul-ci-us ni-hil ta-li vi-ta re-pe-ri--tur,

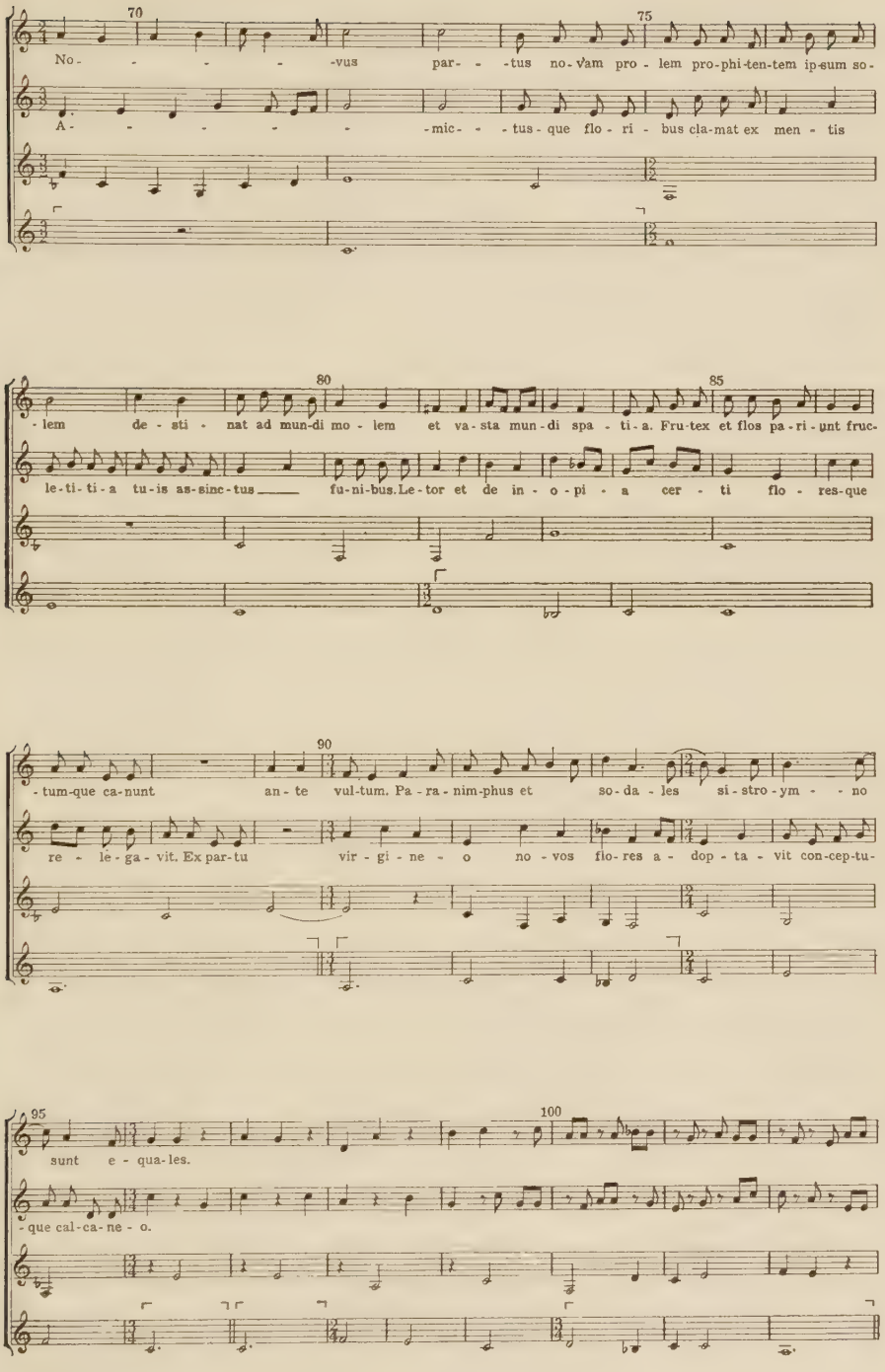

40
A-mor e-nim con - so- - -lan - do et li - ban - do men-tis est re- - cre-
ve- - -rum cum po - ti - tur cor- - -po - ra - li so - la - mi-
45
a - ri, qui li - vo-res ef - fu - gan - do sub-le-van - do vi-rus si - nit
ne et ma - li quid sen- - -ti- - -tur
50
55
an-ti- - -qua-ri. Hoc er - go qui do- - -ta- - -ri be- - -a-
sub ac-tu ri-tu-a- - -li con- - - - stan - ti-a pun- - -ge-
60
- ri te af - fec- - -tat a - bun - dan - do
- - - tur; at - que spe dul -
65
70
su- - -bri - bus de-co-ra - ri et da - ri lau - des que-rat se ap - tan-do,
co - ris do- -te qui a-mo-ris ut di-ce-tur cu-

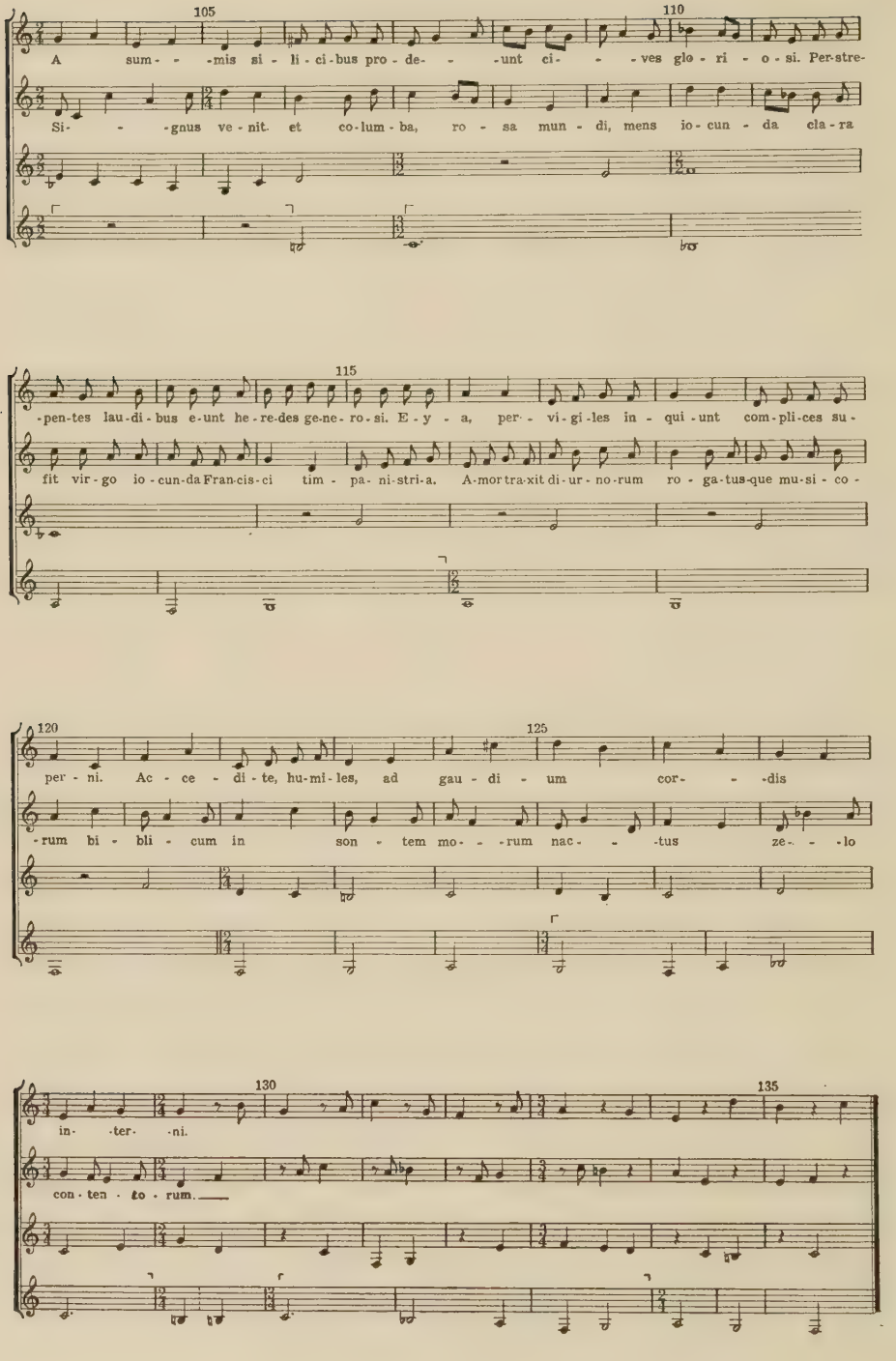

75
re-rum li-cet ab-sen-tan--do et va--gan-do quo so--le-bat a-ma--ri.
pit nec des--pre--tur con-ter mo--ris
80
85
lan-gu e-at di-u mo-ran-do de-spe--ran-do prors-sus ti-mens
a-man-do si-bi e--tur. Cur, do-mi-ne vir-tu--tum, ve-
90
iu--ra-ri ta-men ref-fo-til-la-ri tor--ta-ri.
ni-ri mo-ro-'--se red-den--ti lu-cro--se cu-i
95
100
De pre--sen-ti-a pen-san--do de--bet et
que ni-tum fa--mu--le--tur ad
105
spes con-fir-ma-ri de pa-ri mul-ti-pli-ci-ter a--man-do.
nu-tum ut ze-lo se fa-ciat ip-sum tu--tum?

II


Al- - - - -pha vi- -brans mo-nu-men-tum al-ma ve-xit ad cre-men
Ce- - -tus ve-nit he-ro-y-cus na-ti vi-tam
CONTRATENOR
Amicum querit: TENOR
tum, Iu-bar fit E-gip-ti por-ten-tum. In lu-cem mox pro-di-tus O-nix ful-gens in pre-rup-ta
y-mi-ta-tus cui-us prin-ceps se- -ra-phi-cus mi-ri-fi-ce trans-for-ma-tus. Hunc clau-stra-les et
in-tus gem-ma ex-tra duc-ta. Al-trin-se-cus non est rup-ta sic pu-el- -la
re-ga-les pro-se-cun-tur ad li-bi-tum lin-quen-tes pa-ter-nas la-res su-um fe-
in-cor-rup-ta.
ren-tes ha-bi-tum.


40
A - - -cha- - -tes a - po-ca-lip-sis in sco - pu - lo dis - cer - ni-tur Va-tes
Al- - - -ter in-trat e - the-re - us, se - pul - tus ut He - li - se us, cu - i
45
tunc ma-tris fe - li-cis in lec - tu-lo re-pe-ri-tur, Thi-mus ma - nat
50
cum vi-ro-re, ni - ve - um fe-rens can-
ce-dit Phi-li - ste-us pro-stra-tus ut Ie-bu-se-us. Al-te so-nans in-cli-tus, tu - a cu-pi - o co-mer-ci-
55
do - rem, vir - go ma-ter cum pu-do - re
60
u - tri - us- - - -que te- -
a ac nec - ti vo- -lo pe-ni - tus mi- - -chi tu- - -a
65
nens flo - rem.
con - sor - ti - a.


70
75
No- - - - - -vus par- - -tus no-vam pro-lem pro-phi-ten-tem ip-sum so-
A- - - - - - -mic- - -tus-que flo-ri-bus cla-mat ex men-tis
80
85
-lem de-sti- nat ad mun-di mo-lem et va-sta mun-di spa-ti-a. Fru-tex et flos pa-ri-unt fruc-
le-ti-ti-a tu-is as-sinc-tus fu-ni-bus. Le-tor et de in-o-pi-a cer-ti flo-res-que
90
-tum-que ca-nunt an-te vul-tum. Pa-ra-nim-phus et so-da-les si-stro-ym- -no
re-le-ga-vit. Ex par-tu vir-gi-ne-o no-vos flo-res a-dop-ta-vit con-cep-tu-
95
100
sunt e-qua-les.
-que cal-ca-ne-o.


105
110
A sum- -mis si- li- ci- bus pro- de- -unt ci- -ves glo- ri- o- si. Per- stre-
Si- -gnus ve- nit et co- lum- ba, ro- sa mun- di, mens io- cun- da cla- ra
115
-pen- tes lau- di- bus e- unt he- re- des ge- ne- ro- si. E- y- a, per- vi- gi- les in- qui- unt com- pli- ces su-
fit vir- go io- cun- da Fran- cis- ci tim- pa- ni- stri- a. A- mor tra- xit di- ur- no- rum ro- ga- tus- que mu- si- co-
120
125
per- ni. Ac- ce- di- te, hu- mi- les, ad gau- di- um cor- -dis
-rum bi- bli- cum in son- tem mo- -rum nac- -tus ze- -lo
130
135
in- -ter- -ni.
con- ten- to- rum.

No. I: MULTIPLICITER AMANDO — FAVORE HABUNDARE — T. LETIFICAT JUVENTUTEM MEAM. *Ch* 110, f. 69v-70

<*Triplum*>: C^2 clef // red notes: 9-17, 28-30, 33, 35^2-36, 45-53, 64-66, 69, 71^2-72, 81-89, 100-102, 105, 107^2-108 // red hollow notes: 31-32, 34-35^1, 67-68, 70-71^1, 103-104, 106-107^1 // 7, 79 ♪ om. // 14^1 ♪ // 21^4 ♪ // 26^2 ♭ on B line // 32^4 red full instead of hollow // 34^1 *pa. min.* following // 39b ♩.♩. // 46 ♯ before 44^1 // 61$^{1-2}$ ♩.♩ // 68 all *sb.* instead of *min.* // 108^1 ♪ //

<*Motetus*>: C^2 clef // red notes: 9-17, 28-31^1, 33^1, 34^3, 36, 45-53, 64-67^1, 69^1, 70^3, 72, 81-89, 100-103^1, 105^1, 106^3, 108 // red hollow notes: 31^2-32, 33^2-34^2, 35, 67^2-68, 69^2-70^2, 71, 103^2-104, 105^2-106^2, 107 // 6^1 ♪ om. // 7$^{(1)}$ *pa. br.* // 23 pu. *syncopationis* om. // 29^3 ♩ // 35 all *sb.* instead of *min.* except 35^1 // 38 ♯ before 37 // 46 ♯ before 43^1 // 57^5 *custos* g instead of e, so that perhaps e-g is intended instead of e-e // 69^1 *pa. min.* preceding // 70^3 *idem* // 71$^{(1)}$ om. // 74^5 *sb.* // 102^2 *idem* // 103^2 red full instead of hollow // 104$^{(4)}$ om. //

Tenor: C^4 // 40-42 om. // 51a om. // 52 om. // 58a *pa. br.* preceding // 86 *lo.* //

Text: corrupt and badly underlaid. Corrections are only undertaken where absolutely certain. Punctuation is restricted to essentials.

Triplum: *9* exulando // *10* appellari: apreliari // *18* virus: vibus // *30* iurari: priurari // *33* confirmari: firmari //

Motetus: 13 sentitur: cencitur // *14* rituali: urituali // *16* atque: at // *24* lucrose: lucroso //

No. II: ALPHA VIBRANS — CETUS VENIT — T. AMICUM QUERIT. *Ch* 105, f. 64v-65

<*Triplum*>: C^2 clef // 23 ♯ before 23^1 // 27 *pu.* om. // 42 ♭ before 42^1 // 59 ♯ under the ligature 58 // 64$^{(1)}$ *pa. sb.* // 100 ♭ before 100^2 // 124 ♯ before 124^1 //

<*Motetus*>: C^2 clef // 1-4 *pa.* om. and replaced by a doubtless erroneous ♮ // 17 ♯ before 17^1 // 62 ♭ before 62^1 // 111 ♭ before 111^1 // 131 ♭ before 131^1 // 133 ♮ before 133^1 //

Contratenor: C^4 clef // 36 ♭ before 36^1 // 38 flat in clef // 55 ♮ before 55^1 // 69^1 ♭ must be a "key" signature, since no B follows it // 99^2 ♭ in clef // 134 ♮ before 134^1 //

Tenor: C^4 clef // 1-22, 37-54, 69-89 and 103-121 are notated alternately in black and red (red notes indicated by ⌜ ⌝ over the staves) // 83 ♭ before 81^1 //

The course of the complete *Tenor* melody is described in the following canon: Rubee dicuntur modo perfecto, nigre inperfecto. Et in qualibet talia antequam pausetur retroeatur per semi ab ultima ad primam (primique *ms*) ipsius tallie notam (nota *ms*). Et iterum eodem modo diminuendo a prima ad notam ultimam eiusdem tallie redicatur (rediatur *ms*).

Text: see above remarks to no. I.

Triplum: *22* canunt: canit // *25* A summis silicibus: Assummis scilicibus // *28* heredes: herentes //

Motetus: *9* ethereus: vir etheus // *10* sepultus: suphultus // *11* cedit: scedit // *23* novos: novo //

Abbreviations used in above notes

br.:	*brevis, -es*	*pa.*:	*pausa, -ae*
lo.:	*longa, -ae*	*pu.*:	*punctus, -i*
min.:	*minima, -ae*	*sb.*:	*semibrevis, -es*

Ia

Multipliciter amando
et letando
vult iuventus hortari.
Ad dolores cogitando
et tristando
valeat ut levari
post secam cum amari
gravari.
Hesitet hec exultando
sibique appellari
tristari,
nisi vivat in iocando.

Amor enim consolando
et libando
mentis est recreari,
qui livores effugando
sublevando
virus sinit antiquari.
Hoc ergo qui dotari
beari
te affectat abundando
subribus decorari
et dari
laudes querat se aptando,

rerum licet absentando
et vagando
quo solebat amari.
Langueat diu morando
desperando
prorssus timens iurari
tamen reffotillari
tortari.
De presentia pensando
debet spes confirmari
de pari
multipliciter amando.

Ib

Favore habundare
huius quod donatur,
gratia cui datur
exultare
ymo et exaltare
hic nitatur
doloresque vitare.

Nam dulcius nihil tali
vita reperitur,

verum cum potitur
corporali
solamine et mali
quid sentitur
sub actu rituali

constantia pungetur;
atque spe dulcoris
dote qui amoris
ut dicetur
cupit nec despretur
conter moris
amando sibi etur.

Cur, domine virtutum,
veniri morose
reddenti lucrose
cuique nitum
famuletur ad nutum
et zelo se
faciat ipsum tutum?

IIa

Alpha vibrans monumentum
alma vexit ad crementum,
Iubar fit Egipti portentum.
In lucem mox proditus
Onix fulgens in prerupta
intus gemma extra ducta.
Altrinsecus non est rupta
sic puella incorrupta.

Achates apocalipsis
in scopulo discernitur.
Vates tunc matris felicis
in lectulo reperitur.
Thimus manat cum virore,
niveum ferens candorem,
virgo mater cum pudore
utriusque tenens florem.

Novus partus novam prolem
prophitentem ipsum solem
destinat ad mundi molem
et vasta mundi spatia.
Frutex et flos pariunt fructum-
que canunt ante vultum.
Paranimphus et sodales
sistro ymno sunt equales.

A summis silicibus
prodeunt cives gloriosi.

Perstrepentes laudibus
eunt heredes generosi.
Eya, pervigiles
inquiunt complices superni.
Accedite, humiles,
ad gaudium cordis interni.

IIb

Cetus venit heroycus
nati vitam ymitatus,
cuius princeps seraphicus
mirifice transformatus.
Hunc claustrales et regales
prosecuntur ad libitum
linquentes paternas lares
suum ferentes habitum.

Alter intrat ethereus,
sepultus ut Heliseus
cui cedit Philisteus
prostratus ut Iebuseus.
Alte sonans inclitus,
tua cupio comercia
ac necti volo penitus
michi tua consortia.

Amictusque floribus
clamat ex mentis letitia
tuis assinctus funibus.
Letor et de inopia
certi floresque relegavit.
Ex partu virgineo
novos flores adoptavit
conceptuque calcaneo.

Signus venit et columba,
rosa mundi, mens iocunda
clara fit virgo iocunda
Francisci timpanistria.
Amor traxit divinorum
rogatusque musicorum
biblicum in sontem morum
nactus zelo contentorum.

A NEW SOURCE FOR THE *ARS NOVA* OF PHILIPPE DE VITRY

ANDRE GILLES and GILBERT REANEY

The London ms, British Museum, Additional 21455 is a small codex of only 11 folios containing a miscellany of musical *tractatuli* written about 1400. Bukofzer gave a list of contents in his study on English discant and fauxbourdon [1], and published the pieces connected with his subject on f. 9-11. These appear to be slightly later than the rest and in a smaller, different hand, with the exception of the page in English beginning "It is to wite that ther are 3 degrees of discant". He failed however to notice the importance of the anonymous treatise which begins the manuscript. All the earlier part of the manuscript is highly abbreviated, but it is clear from an examination of f. 1-6 that this study of mensural music is another version of Philippe de Vitry's 'Ars Nova'. Certainly it does not appear to be as close to the original as the succinct version in Paris, Bibl. Nationale, fonds latin 7378A f. 61v-62 [2], but it has points of resemblance. It seems indeed that all three versions we now possess are complementary and must be taken into consideration if we are to gain as complete a picture as possible of the original treatise. Both the London and the Paris source mentioned treat the *ars vetus* as well as the *ars nova,* while the Vatican ms is only an *ars nova.* Nevertheless, the Vatican source refers to the *ars vetus* as to the first part of the complete treatise. In spite of obvious errors, the Vatican source has considerable authority, for it is the only manuscript which goes into full detail, and further it is largely concordant with another Paris ms, Bibl. Nationale, lat. 14741, which contains an important segment of the 'Ars Nova' [3]. The new version is perhaps more haphazardly written than any of the others, but has points of contact with the relatively early ms lat. 7378A.

The first part of the treatise deals with the older note-forms, namely the long, breve and double long. Their values are considered in some detail, whether they are isolated, plicated, imperfected or altered. The semibreve

[1] M. Bukofzer, *Geschichte des englischen Diskants und des Fauxbourdons nach den theoretischen Quellen,* 1936, 37 f.

[2] A. Gilles, 'Un témoignage inédit de l'enseignement de Philippe de Vitry' in *Musica Disciplina* X (1956), 38 ff.

[3] Both mss edited in G. Reaney, A. Gilles and J. Maillard, 'The 'Ars Nova' of Philippe de Vitry' in *Musica Disciplina* X (1956), 13 ff.

is merely mentioned in this section, but not treated in detail. Then follows a similar discussion of the methods employed in the new art, namely in the notation of the smaller values, i.e. semibreves and minims. Even the shortest notes, the semiminims, and the longest, the triple longs, are discussed, and the semiminim is defined in exactly the same way as in lat. 7378A [4]. Ligatures are considered in more detail and complete with examples in Add. 21455, after which the treatise is continued by examples of the different combinations of mode, time and prolation. Single note-values are also divided into their subspecies, and a few paragraphs are briefly devoted to the rhythmic modes, the "eight" concordances and the question of *musica falsa.*

There is no need to list the contents of the manuscript again, but it may be mentioned that it is a paper codex measuring 214 x 146 mm, and now has a binding of chocolate brown leather. A further point of interest is that the *Regula de monocordo* on f. 8v is nothing more than chapter III of the *Micrologus* by Guido of Arezzo. In the interest of completeness, the text of Add. 21455 follows immediately. It actually begins with the scale at the end of chapter II of the *Micrologus* (cf. J. Smits van Waesberghe, *Guidonis Aretini Micrologus,* 1955, 95-100). Passages in brackets are omitted in the original manuscript.

Regula de Monocordo. In primis . . .

(a b h c d)

Γ, A, B, C, D, E, F, G, a, b, h, c, d, e, f, g, a, b, h, c, d. Quarum dispositio a doctoribus aut tacita aut nimia obscuritate perplexa adest et ita pueris breviter et plenissime explicata. Gamma itaque in primis affixa, ab eo usque ad finem subjectum cordae spatium per novem partire et in termino primae nonae partis A litteram [5] pone, in qua omnes antiqui fecerunt principium. Item ab A ad [6] finem, nona collecta parte, eodem modo B litteram pone. Post haec ad Gamma revertens usque ad finem metire per quatuor et in primae partis termino invenies C. Eademque divisione per quatuor, sicut cum Gamma inventum est C, simili modo, per ordinem, cum A invenies D, et cum B invenies E, et cum C [7] invenies F et cum D invenies G, et cum E invenies a, et cum F invenies b rotundam. Quae vero sequuntur, similium et earundem omnes per ordinem medietate facile [8] colliguntur utputa a B ad finem, in medio spatio pone aliam h; similiterque

[4] Ci. p. 64.
[5] litera *ms.*
[6] a *pro* ad *ms.*
[7] G pro C *ms.*
[8] facili *ms.*

C signabit aliam c, et D signabit aliam d, et E aliam e, et F aliam f (et G aliam g) et reliquae eodem modo. Posses in infinitum ita progredi sursum et deorsum, nisi artis praeceptum sua auctoritate (te) compesceret. De multiplicibus diversique monocordi divisionibus unam apposui, ut cum de multis ad unam intenderetur, id est sine dubitatione, sine scrupulo caperetur. Praesertim cum sit tantae utilitatis ut et facile intelligatur, et intellecta vix obliviscatur. Alius vero dividendi modus sequitur qui, etsi memoriae minus adjungitur, eo tamen monocordum velociori celeritate componitur hoc modo. Cum primum a ⌜ usque ad finem novem passus, id est particulas, facis primus passus terminabit in A, secundus vacat, tertius in D, quartus vacat, quintus in a, sextus in d, septimus in a, reliqui vacant. Item (cum) ab A usque ad finem novenis partiris, primus passus terminabit in B, secundus vacat, tertius in E, quartus vacat, quintus in h, sextus in e, septimus in $\overset{h}{h}$[9], reliqui vacant. Item cum a ⌜ ad finem quaternis dividis, primus passus terminabit in C, secundus in G, tertius in g, quartus finit. A C vero ad finem similiter, quatuor passuum primus terminabit in F, secundus in c, tertius in cc, quartus finit. Ab F vero quatuor passuum (primus terminabit in b rotundam, secundus in f).

(*Tractatus cantus mensurabilis secundum Philippum de Vitriaco*)

Cum de mensurabili musica sit nostra praesens intentio, eam propter faciliorem apprehensionem erudientium in figura pro parte declarare intendimus, ne procedamus ex principiis ignoratis, quia ignoratis principiis ignorantur ea quae post principia sunt.

Videamus primo quid sit figura, quid simplex, quid composita vel ligatura, quod idem est in musica. Figura idem est quod nota vel forma notae. Figurarum aliae simplices, aliae compositae. Simplicium tres sunt species, scilicet longa, brevis et semibrevis, et dicuntur simplices quando non ligantur. Compositae vero quando plures ad invicem ligantur. Et quia simplex praecedit compositum, primo dicitur hic de figuris simplicibus, dividendo eas in tribus, sic: figura vero longae est punctus quadratus habens solum tractum ascendentem vel descendentem a parte dextera, sic vel duos tractus ascendentes vel descendentes, dexteris tractibus longioribus sinistris, et tunc dicitur proprie plicata, sic (quia pro duobus tractibus ascendentibus vel descendentibus proprie nomen plicatae habere meretur). Figura autem brevis est punctus quadratus sine aliquo tractu, sic ▪▪ vel habens (unum tractum ascendentem vel descendentem a parte sinistra) sic et tunc simpliciter dicitur plicata, quia pro solo tractu ascendente vel descendente minus proprie dicitur, (vel habens duos tractus ascendentes

[9] b *ms.*

vel descendentes, sinistris tractibus longioribus dextris sic) [10]. Semibreves quidem formantur sic .

In prima parte dividitur longa in tribus modis. Primo longa dicitur hic perfecta eo quod tria tempora sub uno accentu includit et hoc quia perfectio ternario numero secundum philosophum attribuitur, et est ternarius numerus inter omnes perfectissimus quia a summa Trinitate quae est vera et pura perfectio nomen assumpsit. Et notandum quod tria tempora tam sub uno accentu quam diversis prolata unam perfectionem constituunt. Item ad longam praedictam videlicet referri debet per quod imperficiatur. Item longa ante longam vel ante pausam longam dicitur perfecta ut hic . Item si duae breves vel tres vel earum valor inter duas longas immediate ponantur tractulo divisionis non interposito brevibus: tunc prima longa dicitur perfecta ut hic . Item quando signum perfectionis illi additur, perfecta est. Et est signum perfectionis quidam parvus tractulus qui alio nomine divisio modi vocatur, sic . Imperfecta vero dicitur quando duobus temporibus mensuratur et sine brevi praecedente vel subsequente vel ejus valore non invenitur ut hic . Duplex longa dicitur eo quod duas longas sub uno accentu includit, sic . Item duplex longa inter duas longas vel ante longam vel ante pausam longam valet sex tempora, sic . Item quando brevis est ab illa relativa per divisionem modi sive praecedat sive sequatur, ipsa valet quinque tempora ut sic . Item quando ponitur inter duas breves ad ipsam relatas, valet quatuor tempora et potest plicari ascendendo vel descendendo sic .

Recta brevis est illa quae non valet nisi unum tempus, quod (est) minimum in plenitudine vocis. Fit autem recta brevis tripliciter: primo quando refertur ad aliquam longam ante eam vel post eam brevis recta dicitur, sic . Secundo cum duae breves tantum inter duas longas de modo perfecto inveniantur, prima dicitur recta, secunda brevis altera vocatur sic nisi inter duas breves divisio modi apponatur, sic et tunc utraque erit recta et referri debent ad aliquod praecedens vel subsequens. Tertio quandocumque tres breves inter duas longas inveniuntur nullo tractulo divisionis illis interposito, vel quando tres breves computari debent pro longa perfecta, tunc quaelibet illarum recta brevis erit sic .

Altera vero brevis similis est longae imperfectae in valore. Differt tamen in figuratione. Quare dicitur altera brevis? Quia a sua recta proportione

[10] Figura autem brevis est punctus quadratus sine aliquo tractu sic vel habens duos tractus ascendentes vel descendentes, sinistris tractibus longioribus dextris sic et tunc simpliciter dicitur plicata, quia pro duobus tractibus ascendentibus vel descendentibus proprie nomen plicatae habere meretur. Pro solo tractu ascendente vel descendente minus proprie dicitur, sic *ms.*

alteratur. Item altera brevis duas rectas includit et fit tribus modis. Primo quando duae breves tantum inter duas longas de modo perfecto sine tractulo divisionis inveniantur, tunc ultima illarum altera dicetur, sic . Secundo quando tres breves inveniuntur, et si inter primam brevem et secundam fit modi divisio, prima ad longam praecedentem referri debet et secunda erit recta; ultima vero altera vocatur, sic . Tertio quando multae breves adjunctae concurrunt ita quod tres pro perfectione computantur, et si in fine duae remaneant tantum, tunc ultima erit altera, sic . Et si una tantum remaneat illa erit recta, et longam imperficiet sequentem, sic . Item quando duae breves inter duas longas de modo imperfecto inveniantur, utraeque erunt aequales sine alteratione, et sive modus sit perfectus sive imperfectus, tot tempora continent duae praedictae breves quot longa praecedens. Item sicut in veteri arte, ut praedictum est, quando duae breves inter duas longas de modo perfecto inveniuntur (prima recta dicitur) et secunda alteratur, sic in nova arte, quando duae semibreves inter duas breves de tempore perfecto vel inter brevem et longam inveniantur, prima unum tempus habebit et secunda erit altera, sic . Eodem modo quando duae minimae inter duas semibreves de majori prolatione inveniuntur, sic . Et sciendum quod nulla notula alteratur nisi in secundo loco[11], quando duae notae accipiuntur pro numero ternario et (ponitur) ante suam majorem vel ante ejus valorem sic . Item sicut in veteri arte longa ante longam de modo perfecto valet tria tempora, sic in nova arte brevis ante brevem de tempore perfecto valet tres semibreves. Item sicut in veteri arte longa imperficitur per brevem a parte ante vel a parte post et valet duo tempora, sic in nova arte brevis imperficitur per semibrevem a parte ante vel a parte post et valet duas semibreves, et similiter semibrevis per minimam et valet duas minimas quia sicut se habet brevis ad longam sic semibrevis ad brevem et minima ad semibrevem ut hic .

Pro brevi recta minus quam duae semibreves accipi non possunt, quarum prima minor, secunda major appellatur pro tanto quod duas minores includit, et propter hoc patet quod tres semibreves secundum artem (novam) possunt poni pro brevi recta sic . Tamen ex aliqua velocitate vocis ponuntur quatuor vel quinque vel sex vel novem. Et tunc quaedam sunt minores perfectae, quaedam minores imperfectae et quaedam sunt minimae. Et secundum modum cantandi diversimode possunt figurari (vel) uno modo, sic .

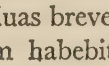
Item minor semibrevis in minimas dividitur duas vel tres quas per tractum a termino[12] superiore ascendentem signamus sic . Item alio

[11] modo *ms.*

[12] tono *ms.*

modo quando in tres dividitur, per tractum a sinistra parte ab angulo obtuso praecedentem primam signamus sic .

Quandocumque duae semibreves ponuntur pro brevi recta vel tres, vel quatuor, vel quinque, vel sex et sine figuratione (propria) tunc debet tractulus divisionis illis interponi ad signandum quando duae ponuntur pro ipsa vel tres vel quatuor etc.

Item quandocumque duae semibreves de tempore perfecto inter duas longas vel duas breves vel inter brevem et longam inveniantur prima semibrevis unum habebit tempus, secunda vero duo tempora, sic  . Si autem tres inter praedictas inveniantur, erunt aequales, si quinque, quatuor pro brevi recta computentur. Possunt autem semibreves plicari sic .

De divisione brevis notae.

Item sciendum est quod brevis perfecta in tres dividitur semibreves aequales et quaelibet illarum in tres minimas et quaelibet illarum minimarum in duas [13] semiminimas. Item brevis imperfecta [14] in duas semibreves et quaelibet illarum semibrevium in duas minimas et quaelibet illarum minimarum in duas semiminimas. Minima est quae habet tractum a parte superiori ascendentem sic . Semiminima est quae habet tractum ascendentem in obliquum versus dexteram partem [15] sic vel sic et non possunt poni impares. Sciendum quod omnis notula perfecta potest imperfici a tertia parte ante vel post, et ex quibus componitur, ex illis imperfici debet. Triplex longa ex simplicibus componitur longis et a simplici longa imperfici debet. Simplex longa perfecta componitur ex tribus brevibus et ideo a brevi imperfici potest. Brevis perfecta componitur ex tribus semibrevibus et ideo a semibrevi imperfici debet.

Item sciendum est quod nulla notula imperfecta potest imperfici quia perfectio constat in numero ternario.

Proprietas est nota primariae inventionis ligaturae a musica plana data in principio. Perfectio vero est idem, sed in fine ligaturae. Unde ligaturarum aliae ascendentes aliae descendentes sunt. Ascendens ligatura est illa cujus secunda nota vel secundus punctus, quod idem est, altior est primo puncto, sic . Descendens vero ligatura est illa cujus secundus punctus inferior est suo primo in corpore recto et obliquo, sic .

Omnis ligatura descendens habens tractum a sinistra parte primi puncti dicitur cum proprietate, sic , et si punctus primus careat omni tractu, tunc sine proprietate dicitur, sic .

Omnis ligatura ascendens si careat omni tractu a primo puncto ascen-

[13] tres *ms.*

[14] perfecta *ms.*

[15] Cf. *Musica Disciplina* X (1956), p. 48, line 48.

dente cum proprietate dicitur, sic . Sed si tractum gerit a dextera parte primi puncti sine proprietate dicitur, sic .

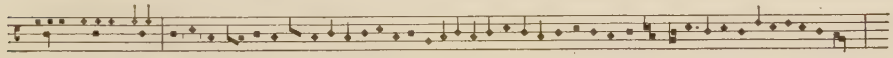
Omnis ligatura ascendens vel descendens habens tractum a parte principii ascendentem cum opposita proprietate dicitur, sic .

Unde omnis ligatura cum proprietate primam facit brevem. Quaevis ligatura sine proprietate primam facit longam. Omnis vero opposita proprietas facit duas primas notas semibreves.

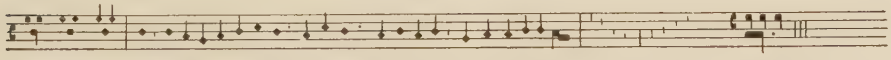
Item sciendum quod figura ligabilis non ligata vitiosa est, sed magis figura non ligabilis ligata. Plures longae ligari non possunt ad invicem sine proprietate et cum perfectione nisi in binaria ligatura sic .Breves vero ligabiles sunt in principio, medio et in fine . Plures semibreves quam duae ad invicem ligari non possunt et semper in principio ligaturae sic . Haec sufficiunt de principiis ligaturarum [17].

Quando ultimus punctus in fine ligaturae recte stat supra penultimam ascendendo ultima cum perfectione dicitur sic . Sequitur: omnis perfectio longatur. Item quando ultima nota in fine ligaturae stat quadrata descendendo similiter cum perfectione dicitur sic . Item quando ultimus punctus in fine ligaturae habet quadratam plicam ascendentem vel descendentem, tunc ultima longatur sic . Quando vero ultimus punctus averso capite stat supra penultimam ascendendo sine perfectione dicitur sic . Vel quando duae notae in uno corpore obliquo in fine ligaturae ascendendo vel descendendo inveniatur similiter.

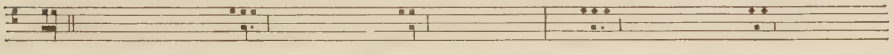
Modus imperfectus de tempore imperfecto est quando longa valet duas breves et quaelibet brevis duas minores.



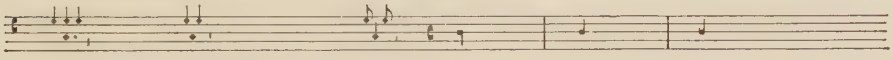
Modus perfectus de tempore perfecto et minori prolatione.



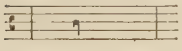
Modus imperfectus de tempore imperfecto et de minori prolatione. (Pausationes) Larga perfecta



Larga imperfecta Longa perfecta Longa imperfecta Brevis perfecta Brevis imperfecta



Minor perfecta Minor imperfecta et minima Longa recta Longa erecta Longa plicata ascendens

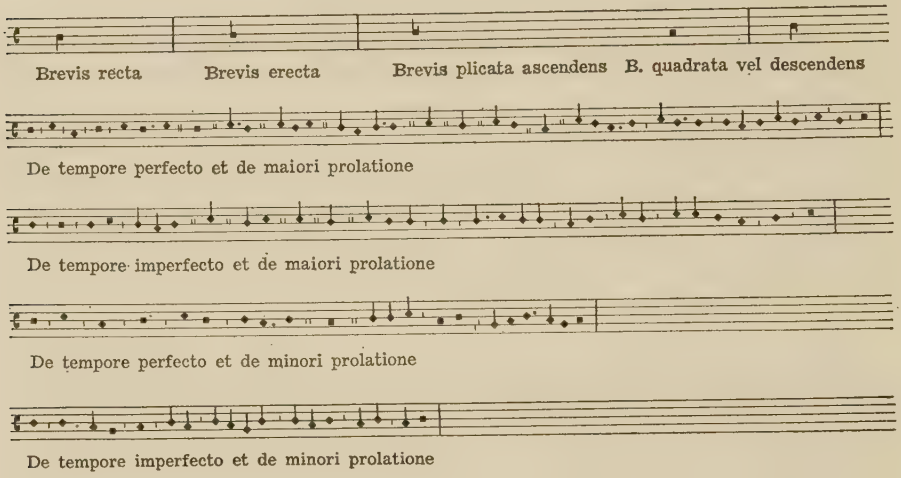


vel descendens

[16] Franco of Cologne, *Ars cantus mensurabilis* in Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi nova series* (= CS) I, 1864, 118 and Anon., *Quatuor principalia musicae* in CS IV, 1876, 259.

[17] Franco, *Ars cantus mensurabilis* in CS I, 128.

Sciendum quod ubicumque longae erectae inveniuntur, per solum semitonum eriguntur et nunquam plicari possunt. Item sciendum est de brevibus erectis.


Brevis recta
Brevis erecta
Brevis plicata ascendens
B. quadrata vel descendens
De tempore perfecto et de maiori prolatione
De tempore imperfecto et de maiori prolatione
De tempore perfecto et de minori prolatione
De tempore imperfecto et de minori prolatione

Item secundum antiquos modi sunt quinque cantandi quorum primus constat ex longa et brevi, sic ⌐▪ . Secundus ex brevi et longa, sic ▪⌐ . Tertius ex longa et duabus brevibus, sic ⌐▪▪ . Quartus ex duabus brevibus et longa, sic ▪▪⌐ . Quintus ex omnibus brevibus et semibrevibus sic ▪▪▪◆◆▪▪▪

Item sciendum est quod octo sunt concordantiae, videlicet prima in tertio loco a tenore; secunda in quinto; tertia in sexto; quarta in octavo; quinta in decimo; sexta in duodecimo; septima in tertiodecimo; octava in quintodecimo loco, etc.

Falsa musica est quando id in clavi recipitur quod non est, quia aliquando propter concordantias vocum necesse est recipere id in clavi quod non est. Sicut, in gesolreut, fa, ubi non est nisi sol, re et ut, et sic dicitur falsa musica, quia scire debes quod b non mutat claven sed mutat tonum faciendo de semitono tonum et e converso. Eest autem tonus ut hic: ut re, re mi, fa sol, sol la. Fa mi, mi fa semitoni sunt. Sed duo semitoni faciunt plusquam tonum et ideo dicitur *et est b* quia non dicis vel cantas per h vel per naturam. In C fa per h cantas; quando fa mutatur in sol, tunc est b et sic mutatur tonus. Si ergo a simili (modo) pono in g b, tunc necesse est ibi recipere fa quia de tono propter b debet fieri semitonus, et sic erit falsa musica etc. . .

[18] Franco, *Ars Cantus mensurabilis* in CS I, 118.

THE MANUSCRIPT LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM, ADDITIONAL 29987 (*Lo*)

GILBERT REANEY

The Trecento codex *Lo* has rarely been treated as fully as the central sources *Sq* and *FP*, though it contains an important collection of 14th-century Italian secular song as well as a unique corpus of dance pieces of the same period. The recent publication of a complete inventory of Trecento secular music (FischerS) is indeed valuable, but perhaps detailed investigations of individual sources are still needed as parallel musicological tools. The peripheral character of *Lo* has been noted [1], but it remains to take at least a glance at the problems raised by the varying script and often clumsy notation of the manuscript. Wolf's list is now out-of-date [2], but it is the only one which has been compiled between the time when the manuscript was acquired by the British Museum and the present day.

The Manuscript

The codex London, British Museum, Additional 29987 is a quarto manuscript measuring 26 x 19.5 cm. The leaves are for the most part of vellum and the binding consists of new brown half leather over wooden boards almost a cm. thick with bevelled edges. The volume was rebound in 1957, but there was no change in the manner of binding. There is gilt lettering on the spine with the words: *Madrigali* || *Ballate* || *e* || *Mottetti* || *Posti in* || *Musica* || *Brit. Mus.* || *Additional* || *Ms.* || *29987*. The manuscript contains 88 folios + four new flyleaves at the front (1 of 1957 and 3 of 1876), two older flyleaves after the new ones (17th century), and two new flyleaves at the back (1 of 1876 and 1 of 1957). The first 17th century flyleaf has a list of composers in the volume made out by the owner, Carlo de Tommaso Strozzi in 1670. Both old and new folio numbers are incorrect, though the error in the old foliation only occurs near the end of the ms. The old foliation at the top right of recto pages is presumably 17th century. This is in ink, while the more recent pencil foliation beneath the older one was doubtless inserted in 1876 when the codex was bought by the British

[1] FischerS, 91.
[2] WolfG I, 268.

Museum. Evidently the manuscript was the property of the Medici in the 15th century, since their coat-of-arms in red, blue, green and gold appears on f. 1 (if we use the old foliation with the necessary correction at the end). If we exclude the newer unnumbered folios, this was the original f. 1, though it was probably blank at first. The main part of the manuscript must have been written about 1400, and such pieces as the additional polyphonic Gloria and Credo slightly later. 1396 has been suggested as a possible *tempus post quem* on account of the presence of Bartolino's *Alba columba* [3]. Whatever the dates of actual compositions may suggest, and the early madrigals obviously go back to about 1340 or before, the manuscript could well have been written in the early years of the 15th century, or perhaps in the 1390s. One may doubt whether a more precise dating is possible.

The whole codex is ruled for music with 8 red five-line staves per page. The use of five- instead of six-line staves certainly suggests either French influence or at least a scribe writing outside the principal Trecento *scriptoria*. It would seem at first glance that Florence should therefore be excluded but, apart from my hypothesis that the ms *Ch* comes from Florence [4], we now have clear evidence of French influence complete with five-line staves in the anonymous treatise *Notitia del valore delle note del canto misurato* [5]. The gatherings are all quaternios. The main corpus of Trecento compositions was written by one hand according to Wolf [6], but the variety of scripts is in fact rather difficult to classify. Certainly the hand on f. 1v-2v is neat and tidy with a notation reminiscent of the Italian part of *PR*, but already the main hand has added a composer's name on f. 2v. This main hand is untidy and apparently unskilled but, in spite of many variants, appears to predominate. It may be that other hands take over occasionally, e.g. no. 6 has a more rounded script and neater notes, but the very fact that the main scribe is somewhat erratic makes it difficult to distinguish between such additional hands. Certainly the Antiphon and Sequences are set off from the rest of the main corpus by a distinct hand, but this cannot be said of the Estampies. Semiminims in this ms sometimes turn their flags to the right, sometimes to the left. It would be convenient if this helped to distinguish scribal methods or habits of composers, but such does not seem to be the case. If anything it reveals the

[3] E. Li Gotti, *La Poesia musicale italiana del secolo XIV*, Palermo, 1944, 88; FischerS, 92.

[4] Cf. G. Reaney, 'The Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Condé 1047' in *Musica Disciplina* VIII (1954), 81-85.

[5] Ed. A. Carapetyan, Corpus Scriptorum de Musica 5. Cf. fascimile.

erratic writing in the manuscript, whose texts are corrupt and often missing, whose notation is careless and even disfigured by erroneous rests. Red initials are not employed at all till f. 23v and they are omitted throughout the Estampies. The Kyrie is a later addition and may even have been written after the Gloria and Credo which follow it. The Kyrie is certainly in a much neater hand than the main corpus, but the Gloria and Credo were written by a semi-Gothic hand as careful and practised as the main hand is rough and unskilled. The Hymn is much later than the Middle Ages but the textless piece no. 119 seems to be contemporary with the main corpus and may well be a madrigal.

The notation of *Lo* has been well dealt with by Professor von Fischer [6]. Only one piece employs the Longa notation which may derive from French models, and two *unica* in the main corpus make use of French mensuration signs. The general tendency is certainly Italian, but, perhaps partly due to carelessness, Italian mensuration letters or *puncti divisionis* are frequently omitted. The dragma occurs both in the corpus and the additional Gloria and Credo, as do hollow notes. Red notes only appear in the Gloria and here they have a special function: diminution. It is to be noted however that, if the specifically Italian notation seems to be most evident in the Madrigals, this is due to the long life which these pieces enjoyed. They were copied and recopied when the notation they employed had already given way to French methods.

With regard to the dialect of the texts, Professor von Fischer, perhaps influenced by the number of compositions in *Lo* by Nicolo da Perugia, suggested Umbria and South Tuscany [7]. This is possible, but Florence may still be admissible. Certainly we can find in the treatise published by Dr. Carapetyan dialectal traits also noticeable in *Lo,* suchs as the stressing of hard consonants by an 'h' and the doubling of consonants like 's'.

The Contents

Codex *Lo* contains 119 pieces, of which 3 have been copied twice, so that the real number of works is 116, if we except no. 70a, which is not included in the above totals because so little of it remains. Madrigals and Ballate are almost equally well represented, though Ballate predominate numerically. This superiority is however more apparent than real, because Madrigals take up much more room than the smaller Ballate, which are not infrequently space-fillers. The remaining 36 works consist of oddments,

[6] FischerS, 112 ff.
[7] *Idem,* 91.

apart from the relatively numerous Cacce. Except for the Virelais, the Gloria and Credo, the motet and a textless piece, the other 21 compositions are monodic. Particularly well known is the unique collection of 15 dance pieces in Estampie form, and the four "Chançonete tedesche" are doubtless intended as a basis for improvised dance music. The liturgical pieces form an odd collection, including as they do the Kyrie de Angelis in a special Italian version, the Sequences *Dies irae* and *Surgit Christus,* the so-called Antiphon *Diligenter advertant chantores* and the Hymn *Tibi Christe splendor.* The following table shows the exact distribution of the contents of *Lo,* according to the various species mentioned above. The numbers are those of the progressive numeration assigned in the inventory proper. Those numbers followed by an asterisk refer to *unica.*

TABLE 1

Species	Total	Number in *Lo*
Madrigals	35 [+ 1]	1 (= 3), 2, 4, 5, 7-14, 16 (= 24), 17, 19, 20*, 21-23, 32, 46, 49, 50, 59-62, 64*, 69, 70, [70a], 73*, 97, 100, 101*, 113
Ballate	45	6, 15, 18*, 26-30, 33, 34*, 35, 36, 37*, 38, 40, 41*, 42*, 44*, 45*, 47*, 48*, 51, 53*, 55, 63, 65, 66*, 67, 68, 71, 72, 74*, 75*, 82, 83*, 98, 102*, 103*, 104, 106, 107, 110, 111, 112, 114
Cacce	8	25, 31, 43 (= 96), 54, 56, 57, 58*, 109
Virelais	3	39, 99, 108
Estampies (all *unica*)	15	77-81, 84-93
Motet	1	52*
Kyrie	1	115
Gloria	1	116*
Credo	1	117*
Antiphon	1	76*
Sequences	2	94, 95
Chançonete tedesche	1	105*
Hymns	1	118*
Textless piece	1	119*

Included in the above list are pieces concordant with the lost Mss *Str* (partially available in de Coussemaker's copy) and *Fa* (keyboard arrangements). These may be checked from the concordance table and the inventory proper.

At first the species of the manuscript's contents have determined the order of the pieces, but later this distinction becomes more and more indeterminate. Up to f. 21 Madrigals predominate, then Ballate up to f. 32. From f. 32v-54v Madrigals and Ballate are equally represented and moreover there are 4 Cacce and a motet in this section. Between f. 55 and f. 68 come the monodies with only two two-part Ballate to break up the series. From f. 68v-81 Madrigals and Ballate appear again, this time mingled with Cacce and Virelais. Among the later additions the Gloria-Credo pair on f. 82v-85 stand out through their careful notation and superior composition in late Ars Nova polyphonic song style.

Composers

Many pieces in *Lo* bear the composer's name in the upper margin, and indeed even the type of composition is specifically mentioned at the same time, e.g. *Madriale di ser lorenço* or *B[allata] magistry francisci de frorençia*. It is noteworthy that mention of the type of composition does not start till f. 18v, and generally on f. 24v. In spite of these details, more compositions are anonymous than in such central sources as *Sq* and *FP*, and the name of Francesco Landini, for instance is often omitted. This is enough to suggest a non-Florentine origin for the manuscript, ant it has been pointed out that Perugia might be a likely centre of musical composition. Support for this hypothesis may be found in the name given to Nicolo da Perugia, namely Nicholo del proposto. The arms of Lorenzo de Medici on f. 1 however may well point to Florence. Again Bonaiutus Corsini, a pupil of Andrea, has 3 unique Ballate in *Lo*, and he has been traced, complete with the title "painter", in Florentine Archives dated 1353 [8]. Guilielmus de Francia is here called Guigliemo di santo spirito, indicating that he was attached to the Augustinian establishment called Santo Spirito in Florence. Both he and another little-known composer, Jacopo Pianelaio de Firenze, are represented in *Lo* by a single composition not occurring in other sources, which surely shows close acquaintance with Florentine works by the copyist of *Lo*. Rosso de Chollegrana may well be the P. Rosso (Petrus Rubeus) of *O* and *BL*, but there is no certainty of this. In a number of cases the author's name is furnished by other manuscripts, but of the 15 composers listed in Table 2, the names of all are to be found in *Lo* at least once.

Of the 95 [+ 1] polyphonic works, 80 [+ 1] can be definitely attributed to their authors, and 15 are anonymous. The following list groups

[8] G. Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d'Artisti dei secoli 14, 15, 16,* Florence, 1839, I, 505.

under each composer's name the works attributed to him, indicated by their ordinal number according to the inventory published below. Numbers printed with asterisks refer, as before, to *unica*. It may be mentioned that, in addition to the 15 definitely anonymous compositions, 24 polyphonic works are anonymous in *Lo* whose composers' names are to be found in other sources. It is difficult to draw certain conclusions from this frequent omission of a composer's name, but, apart from the careless writing and bad spelling of the most important copyist in *Lo*, it is important to note that a small composition starting in the middle of a page stands a good chance of being anonymous, simply because composers' names are usually written at the top of the page.

TABLE 2

Composer	No. of works	Number in *Lo*
Andrea	1	37*
Bartolino da Padua	5	13, 16 (= 24), 17, 23, 114
Corsini, Bonaiutus	3	45*, 47*, 48*
Donato da Cascia	3	32, 50, 99
Gherardello	3	31, 62, 100
Giovanni da Cascia	5	4, 5, 7, 9, 21
Guilielmus de Francia	2	15 (with Egidius), 64*
Jacopo da Bologna	7	1 (= 3), 2, 8, 14, 19, 20*
Jacopo Pianelaio	1	66*
Lorenzo	5	22, 46, 49, 59, 76*
Landini, Francesco	29	6, 10-12, 26-28, 30, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 44*, 51, 54, 65, 67-69, 71, 82, 104, 106, 107, 110-113
Nicolo da Perugia	12 [+ 1]	33, 41*, 53*, 55, 57, 58*, 60, 63, [70a], 72, 97, 98, 103*
Paolo	1	70
Rosso de Chollegrana	1	101*
Vincenzo da Rimini	3	43 (= 96), 56, 61

Concordances

The codex *Lo* has to be considered here too from the point of view of monody and polyphony. Of the standard Trecento repertoire, namely Madrigals, Ballate and Cacce, relatively few are *unica,* viz. 21 out of a total of 88 [+ 1] pieces. The apparently later polyphonic Gloria and Credo are *unica* too but anonymous. Unusual works like the hybrid motet, which may also be described as a troped mass movement, and the Ballata 42, whose top voice seems to be written for the bagpipe complete with drone, tend to be anonymous. Even so, out of 25 polyphonic *unica,* only 11 are anonymous. As might be expected, quite the opposite is the case with monodic *unica.* All the Estampies are anonymous *unica,* like the *Chançonete tedesche* and the hymn. The so-called Antiphon of Lorenzo is in fact a warning to singers to avoid the tritone, of which the music is full.

Table 2 reveals that the music of such well-known composers as Giovanni da Cascia, Jacopo da Bologna and Francesco Landini is nearly all known from other manuscripts. Typical is Landini with only one *unicum* out of 29 compositions. On the other hand, the works of lesser-known composers like Bonaiutus Corsini, Guilielmus de Francia Jacopo Pianelaio and Rosso de Chollegrana are all *unica* (with one exception). Only Nicolo da Perugia among the better-known Trecento musicians is represented by several polyphonic *unica,* viz. 4 out of 12 [+ 1] compositions. The following table shows the distribution of the *unica* among the various species represented in the manuscript.

TABLE 3

Species	Total	Species	Total
Madrigals	4	Credo	1
Ballate	16	Antiphon	1
Cacce	1	Chançonete tedesche	1
Estampies	15	Hymn	1
Motet	1	Textless piece	1
Gloria	1		

The following table of concordances makes clear the relationship between *Lo* and the 15 manuscripts containing any one of the works copied therein, whether in whole or in part, in original version or arrangement.

TABLE 4

Source	Number of Concordances	Number in *Lo*
Fa	3	17, 23, 26
FC	1 T	1 (= 3) (T only)
FP	38	1 (= 3), 2, 4-11, 14, 17, 19, 21, 25-31, 35, 38, 40, 46, 51, 54, 62, 68, 71, 82, 100, 103, 106, 107, 109, 110, 114
Iv	1	108
Luc	1 + 1 Cantus + 1 T and Ct	17 (T and Ct only), 27 (Cantus only), 114
Mod	1	35
PadA	2	27, 38
PadC	1	108
Pit	32	1 (= 3), 2, 4, 10, 14, 17, 26, 27, 29-31, 35, 38, 39, 46, 56, 60-62, 68, 70, 71, 72, 82, 98, 103, 106-108, 110, 112, 114
Pr	1	99
PR	20	1 (= 3), 2, 7, 8, 13, 14, 16 (= 24), 17, 19, 23, 26, 27, 29, 38, 51, 68, 82, 108, 112, 114
RO	2 Cantus fragm.	21 (Cantus fragm.), 46 (Cantus fragm.)
*RU*1	1	99
Sq	64	1 (= 3), 2, 4-15, 16 (= 24), 17, 19, 21-23, 26-28, 30-33, 35, 36, 38-40, 43 (= 96), 46, 49-51, 54-57, 59-63, 65, 67-69, 70a-72, 82, 97, 98, 100, 103, 106, 107, 110, 112-114
Str	1	108

WORKS CITED IN THE PRESENT INVENTORY

Ancona	D'Ancona, Paolo, *La miniatura fiorentina,* Florence, 1914.
ApelL	Apel, Willi, *French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century,* Cambridge (Mass.), 1950.
ApelN	Apel, Willi, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900-1600,* Cambridge (Mass.), 4th ed., 1949.
Bartha	Bartha, Denes, *Anthologie der Musikgeschichte,* Budapest, 1948.
Cappelli	Cappelli, Adriano, *Poesie musicali dei secoli XIV, XV e XVI,* Bologna, 1868.
CorteSc	Della Corte, Andrea, ed., *Scelta di musiche,* Milan, 3rd ed., 1949.
CorteSt	Della Corte, Andrea, *Storia della musica* I, Turin, 3rd ed., 1952.
Einstein	Einstein, Alfred, *A Short History of Music,* London, 5th ed., 1948.
EllinwoodF	Ellinwood, Leonard, 'Francesco Landini and His Music' in *Musical Quarterly* XXII (1936), 190.
EllinwoodL	Ellinwood, Leonard, *The Works of Francesco Landini,* Cambridge (Mass.), 1945.
FischerS	von Fischer, Kurt, *Studien zur italienischen Musik des Trecento und frühen Quattrocento,* Bern, 1956.
FischerV	von Fischer, Kurt, *Die Variation,* Cologne, 1956.
Gandolfi	Gandolfi, Riccardo, *Illustrazioni di alcuni cimeli concernenti l'arte musicale in Firenze,* Florence, 1892.
Gleason	Gleason, Harold, *Examples of Music Before 1400,* New York, 1942.
HAM	Apel, Willi and Davison, Archibald, eds., *Historical Anthology of Music* I, Cambridge (Mass.), 2nd ed., 1949.
Kammerer	Kammerer, Friedrich, *Die Musikstücke des Prager Kodex XI. E. 9,* Brno, 1931.
Levi	Levi, Eugenia, *Lirica italiana antica,* Florence, 1905.
LudwigA	Ludwig, Friedrich, 'Die geistliche nichtliturgische, weltliche einstimmige und die mehrstimmige Musik des Mittelalters' in G. Adler, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte* I, Berlin, 2nd ed., 1930.
LudwigK	Ludwig, Friedrich, 'Musik des Mittelalters in der Badischen Kunsthalle Karlsruhe', in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* V (1923), 434.
LU	*Liber Usualis,* Paris, Tournai, Rome, 1950.
MarroccoC	Marrocco, W. Thomas, *Fourteenth Century Italian Cacce,* Cambridge (Mass.), 1942.
MarroccoJ	Marrocco, W. Thomas, *The Music of Jacopo da Bologna,* Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1954.
Moberg	Moberg, Carl Allan, *Über die schwedischen Sequenzen,* Uppsala, 1927.
MGG	*Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart,* ed. F. Blume, Kassel and Basel, 1949-.
PirrottaM	Pirrotta, Nino, *The Music of Fourteenth Century Italy* I, Amsterdam, 1954.
PirrottaS	Pirrotta, Nino and Li Gotti, Ettore, *Il Sacchetti e la tecnica musicale,* Florence, 1935.

Reese	Reese, Gustave, *Music in the Middle Ages,* New York, 1940.
RiemannB	Riemann, Hugo, *Musikgeschichte in Beispielen,* Leipzig, 1912.
RiemannH	Riemann, Hugo, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte,* 5 vols., Leipzig, 1919-22.
ScheringB	Schering, Arnold, *Geschichte der Musik in Beispielen,* Leipzig, 1931.
ScheringS	Schering, Arnold, *Studien zur Musikgeschichte der Frührenaissance,* Leipzig, 1914.
Soll	Debenedetti, Santorre, *Il "Sollazzo" e il "Saporetto" con altre rime di Simone Prudenzani d'Orvieto* (*Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana, Suppl. no. 15*), Turin, 1913. (The numbers refer to the sonnets of the "Saporetto".)
Vecchi	Vecchi, Giuseppe, *Atlante paleografico musicale,* Bologna, 1951.
VanM	G. de Van, *Monuments de l'Ars Nova,* Paris, 1938.
WolfF	Wolf, Johannes, 'Florenz in der Musikgeschichte des 14. Jahrhunderts', in *Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft* III (1902), 599 ff.
WolfG	Wolf, Johannes, *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250-1460,* 3 vols., Leipzig, 1904.
WolfH	Wolf, Johannes, *Handbuch der Notationskunde,* 2 vols., Leipzig, 1913-1919.
WolfN	Wolf, Johannes, 'Musica Fiorentina nel secolo XIV°' in *La Nuova Musica,* Florence, 1896-1919, 3 supplementary vols.
WolfSq	Wolf, Johannes, *Der Squarcialupi-Codex Pal. 87 der Bibl. Medicea Laurentiana zu Florenz,* Lippstadt, 1955.
WolfT	Wolf, Johannes, 'Die Tänze des Mittelalters' in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* I (1918), 10 ff.

MANUSCRIPTS CITED AND THEIR SIGNATURES

Fa	Faenza, Bibl. Comunale 117. Inventory of tablature by D. Plamenac, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* IV (1951), 197-201.
FC	Florence, Bibl. del Conservatorio D 1175. Description in FischerS, 10.
FP	Florence, Bibl. nazionale, Panciatichi 26. Provisional list in WolfG, I, 245-249.
Iv	Ivrea, Bibl. capitolare. Inventory by H. Besseler, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VII (1925), 188-191.
Luc	Lucca, Archivio di Stato (Codex Mancini) and Perugia, Bibl. Comunale. Inventory by N. Pirrotta, *Musica Disciplina III* (1949), 134-138.
Mod	Modena, Bibl. Estense, *a.* M. 5. 24 (*olim* lat. 568). Inventory by N. Pirrotta, *Atti della Reale Acad. di Scienze, Lettere e Arti di Palermo,* Serie 4, vol. V, 2 (1945), 116-120; or offprint, 1946.
PadA	Padua, Bibl. Universitaria, 1475 and 684 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici Pat. lat. 229. Inventory by H. Besseler, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VII (1925), 228 and VIII (1927), 235.
PadC	Padua, Bibl. Universitaria, 658. Description by H. Besseler, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VII (1925), 231-232.
Pit	Paris, Bibl. nationale, fonds italien 568. Provisional list in WolfG I, 252-258.
Pr	Prague, Universitäts-Bibl., XI. E. 9. Inventory by Kammerer, 15-16.
PR	Paris, Bibl. nationale, nouvelle acquisition française 6771. Inventory by K. von Fischer, *Musica Disciplina* XI (1957), 53-77.

RO	Rome, Bibl. Vaticana, Ottob. 1790. Inventory by F. Ludwig, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* V (1923), 201, note 1.
*RU*1	Rome, Bibl. Vaticana, Urb. lat. 1419. Inventory by H. Besseler, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VII (1925), 227.
Sq	Florence, Bibl. Laurentiana, Pal. 87. Provisional list in WolfG I, 233-244. Complete transcription in WolfSq.
Str	Strasbourg, Bibl. de la ville, M. 222 C. 22. Inventory by Ch. van den Borren, *Le Manuscrit musical M. 222 C. 22 de la Bibliothèque de Strasbourg,* Antwerp, 1924.

ABBREVIATIONS

A	Antiphon	M	Madrigal
B	Ballata	Mo	Motet
Ca	Caccia	O	Ordinary of the Mass
Ct	Contratenor	S	Sequence
E	Estampie	T	Tenor
H	Hymn	V	Virelai

INVENTORY OF LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM, ADDITIONAL MS 29987 (*Lo*)

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
1	1v-2	O dolç' apress' un bel perlaro fiume	2^2	M	[Jacobus de Bolonia]	Identical with no. 3; *Sq* f. 14v-15; *FP* f. 62v-63; *Pit* f. 8v-9; *PR* f. 7v (an.); *FC* (T only) (an.)	The name ANNA appears in the text. Facs. MarroccoJ, pl. 2 (*Pit*). Edn. MarroccoJ, 74; WolfSq, 31.
2	2v-3	Di novo e giont' un cavalier errante	2^2	M	Magistri Jacobi di Bolonia	*Sq* f. 11v-12; *FP* f. 68; *Pit* f. 10v; *PR* f. 10v (an.)	Facs. Reese, pl. VIII (*Sq*). Edn. MarroccoJ, 36; Reese, 363; WolfSq, 26.
3	3v-4	O dolç' apress' un bel perlaro fiume	2^2	M	[Jacobus de Bolonia]	Identical with no. 1	See no. 1. Here top part has text from "Ay lasso" only, T in full.
4	4v-5	O perlaro gentil	2^2	M	[Johannes de Florentia]	*Sq* f. 4v-5; *FP* f. 57v-58; *Pit* f. 21v-22	Facs. Vecchi 1, XI (*FP*). Edn. PirrottaM, no. 11; WolfSq, 11.
5	5v-6	Apress' um fiume chiaro	2^2	M	[Johannes de Florentia]	*Sq* f. 5v-6; *FP* f. 50v	Edn. PirrottaM, no.3; WolfSq, 13.
6	6	Per allegreça del parlar d'amore	2^1	B	[Francesco Landini]	*Sq* f. 159; *FP* f. 5v (all concordances 2^2 voc.)	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 81; WolfSq, 286.
7	6v-7	O tu chara scientia	2^2	M	Magistri Johannis de frorentia	*Sq* f. 5v-6; *FP* f. 51v-52; *PR* f. 30v-31 (an.)	Edn. PirrottaM, no. 12; ScheringB, no. 22; WolfN II, 69; WolfSq, 12.
8	7v	Si chome al canto de la bella iguana	2^2	M	Magistri Jacobi de Bolonia	*Sq* f. 19v-20; *FP* f. 94v-95 (3^3 voc.); *PR* f. 33v-34 (3^3 voc.) (an.)	Edn. MarroccoJ, 91; WolfSq, 41.
9	8	Sedendo al onbra d'una bella mandorla	2^2	M	Magistri Johannis de frorentia	*Sq* f. 2v; *FP* f. 52v-53	*Lo* varies greatly from *Sq*. Edn. PirrottaM, no. 16; WolfSq, 6.
10	8v-9	Si dolce non sono	3^2	M	Magistri francisci de frorençia	*Sq* f. 123v-124; *FP* f. 44v-45; *Pit* f. 12v-13 (all concordances 3^3 voc.)	Facs. EllinwoodL, pl. IV (*FP*). Edn. EllinwoodF, no. 2; EllinwoodL, no.12; Gleason, 113; HAM, no.54; WolfSq, 201.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
11	9v-10	Musica(n) son che mi dolgho piaggiedo Gia furon le dolceççe mie Ciascun voli narrar	3^{1+1+1}	M	Magistri fracisci de frorencia	*Sq* f. 121v-122; *FP* f. 89v-90	Facs. (all *Sq*): Ancona, LIV; BesM, pl. XI; CorteSt, 213; Gandolfi, pl. XV-XVI; LudwigA, 286; ScheringS, 58. Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 11; LudwigA, 287; WolfSq, 197.
12	10v-11	Una colomba candid' e genti[le]	2^2	M	Magistri Fracisci de frorençia	*Sq* f. 129	In *Lo* upper voice has text in rit. only. Facs. EllinwoodL, pl. III (*Sq*). Edn. EllinwoodF, no. 1; EllinwoodL, no. 9; Gleason, 106; WolfSq, 55.
13	11v-12	Alba cholumba con sua verde rama	2^2	M	Fratris bartolini de padova	*Sq* f. 105v-106 (3^2 voc.); *PR* f. 14v-15 (3 voc.) (an.)	Soll, no. 29. Edn. WolfSq, 166.
14	12v-13	Prima vertute chonstringer la lingua	2^2	M	Magistri Jachobi de bolonia	*Sq* f. 12v-13; *FP* f. 66v-67; *Pit* f. 9v-10; *PR* f. 6 (an.)	Facs. MarroccoJ, pl. 3 (*PR*). Edn. MarroccoJ, 87; WolfSq, 29.
15	13	Mille merce	2^1	B	[Egidius et Guilielmus de Francia]	*Sq* f. 173v	Facs. Gandolfi, pl. XVII (*Sq*). Edn. WolfSq, 319.
16	13v-14	Quando la terra parturessen verde	2^2	M	Fratris bartolini de padova	*Sq* f. 106v-107; *PR* f. 20 (an.); identical with no. 24	Edn. WolfSq, 169.
17	14v	La dolce cera	3^1	M	Fratre bartolini de padova	*Sq* f. 101v-102 (3^3 voc.); *FP* f. 108v-109; *Pit* f. 41v-42 (2^2 voc.); *PR* f. 13v-14 (3^2 voc.) (an.); *Luc* f. 1a (XX) (3^2 voc., Cantus missing); *Fa* f. 70-71 (2 voc. tab.) (an.)	Soll, no. 25. Facs. Gandolfi, pl. XIV (*Sq*). Edn. WolfG II/III, no. 45; WolfSq, 159.
18	15	Non posso far buchato	2^1	B	—		
19	15v-16	Useletto selvagio	2^2	M	Magistri Jachobi de bolonia	*Sq* f. 12v-13; *FP* f. 68v-69; *PR* f. 7 (an.)	Edn. MarroccoJ, 78; WolfG II/III, no. 41; WolfSq, 26.
20	16v-17	Un bel parlare vive sulla riva	2^1	M	Magistri Jacobi de bolonia		The name ANNA appears in the text. Facs. MarroccoJ, pl. 4. Edn. MarroccoJ, 106.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
21	17v-18	Piu no mi churo	2^2	M	Maestro Giovanni de chascina	*Sq* f. 1v-2; *FP* f. 53v-54; *RO* 1 (fragm. of Cantus only) (an.)	Edn. PirrottaM, no. 14; WolfH I, 305; WolfSq, 5.
22	18v-19	I credo ch'i dormiva	2^2	M	Madriale di ser lorenço	*Sq* f. 53v-54	Edn. WolfSq, 94.
23	19v-20	Qual legie move	2^2	M	Fratris bartolini de padova	*Sq* f. 119v-120; *PR* f. 21v-22 (an.); *Fa* f. 68v-69 (2 voc. tab.) (an.)	Edn. WolfSq, 192.
24	20v-21	Quando la terra parturessen verde	2^2	M	Fratris bartolini de padova	Identical with no. 16	See no. 16.
25	21v-22	Per sparverare	3^2 (rit. 2^2)	Ca	[Jacobus de Bolonia]	*FP* f. 70	Edn. MarroccoC, no. 16; MarroccoJ, 81.
26	22v-23	Non avra ma pieta	3^1	B	[Francesco Landini]	*Sq* f. 134 (3^2 voc.); *FP* f. 30v; *Pit* f. 61v-62 (3^2 voc.) (an.); *PR* f. 52 (an.); *Fa* f. 90-90v (2 voc. tab.) (an.)	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 135; WolfSq, 225; FischerV, no. 1 (opening of *Fa*).
27	23	Donna, s'i t'o falito	2^1	B	[Francesco Landini]	*Sq* f. 158; *FP* f. 1; *Luc* f. 5av (XXXXVIIv) (T missing); *Pit* f. 85v-86 (an.); *PR* f. 34 (an.) *PadA* 32; (all concordances 2^2 voc. except *Luc*)	*Lo* has first line of text only to each T section. Soll, no. 48. Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 45; WolfSq, 284.
28	23v-24	Guard' una volta	3^3	B	[Francesco Landini]	*Sq* f. 161v; *FP* f. 21	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 124; WolfSq, 292.
29	24	I son un pellegrin	2^2	B	—	*FP* f. 47v-48; *Pit* f. 42v; *PR* f. 27v-28	Soll, no. 25? Edn. Bartha, 24c; Einstein, no. 11; HAM, no. 51.
30	24v	Perche di novo sdegno Vendetta far dovrei Perche tu[o] servo	3^{1+1+1}	B	B[allata] di francescho de frorencia	*Sq* f. 164; *FP* f. 30; *Pit* f. 64v-65	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 140; WolfSq, 297.
31	25	Tosto che l'alba	3^2	Ca	Chaccia di ser gheradello	*Sq* f. 25v; *FP* f. 86; *Pit* f. 25v-26	Facs. (all *Sq*) Gandolfi, pl. IX; Levi, 274; MarroccoC, pl. 1. Edn. CorteSc, no. 26; Gleason, 101; HAM, no. 52; Levi, 274; MarroccoC, no. 19; RiemannH I. 2, 324; PirrottaM, no. 33; WolfF, 626; WolfSq, 47.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
32	25v-26	L'aspido sord[o] e'l tirello scorçone	2^1	M	[Donatus de florentia]	*Sq* f. 77v-78 (2^2 voc.)	Edn. WolfSq, 112.
33	26	La don[n]a mia	2^2	B	[Nicolo da Perugia]	*Sq* f. 93v-94	Soll, no. 48. Edn. WolfSq, 149.
34	26v	Non senti donna piu piacer	2^2	B	—		
35	27	Se pronto non sara	2^2	B	[Francesco Landini]	*Sq* f. 170; *FP* f. 12v; *Mod* 23; *Pit* f. 91v-92	Facs. ApelN, 391 (*Sq*); Cappelli, 1 (*Mod*). Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 93; RiemannB, no. 5; WolfSq, 313.
36	27v	Nella piu chara parte	2^1	B	B[allata] magistry francisci de frorençia	*Sq* f. 169	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 72; WolfSq, 310.
37	28	Sia quel ch'esser po	2^2	B	B[allata] di frate Andrea de servi		
38	28v-29	Gran piant' agli ochi	3^2	B	B[allata] magistry francisi de frorençia	*Sq* f. 133v; *FP* f. 26; *Pit* f. 67v-68; *PR* f. 34v (an.); *PadA* 17	Soll, no. 34. Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 123; Bartha, 24a; Gleason, 104; LudwigK, 459; WolfSq, 224.
39	29	Adyou, adyou, dous dame volie	2^1	V	B[allata] magistry francisci de frorençia	*Sq* f. 164v (3^1 voc.); *Pit* f. 62 (3^1 voc.)	Edn. EllinwoodL, 101; WolfSq, 298.
40	29v-30	Partesi con dolore	3^1	B	B[allata] magistry francisci de frorençia	*Sq* f. 154v; *FP* f. 27v-28	Edn. EllinwoodL, 139; WolfSq, 276.
41	30	I son tua donna	2^1	B	B[allata] di ser Nicholo del proposto		
42	30v-31	Lamantacha ssera tututu lo primo Cum martelli incrudena (Contar tenor)	2^2	B	—		
43	31	In forma quasi tra'l veglar	[3^2]	Ca	[Chaccia Vincentii]	*Sq* f. 36; identical with no. 96	Only two thirds of Cantus here. Facs. MGG II, 606 (*Sq*). Edn. MarroccoC, no. 10; WolfSq, 66.
44	31v	Piu bella donna 'l mondo ma non	2^2	B	B[allata] a .m. fancescho di firençe		Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 86.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
45	32	Donna, non fu giamay	2^2	B	B[allata] bonaiutus corsini. pitor		
46	32v-33	Vidi nell' onbra	2^2	M	Madrialle di ser lorenço. prete	*Sq* f. 47v-48; *FP* f. 78v-79; *Pit* f. 23v-24; *RO* 4 (fragm. of Cantus) (an.)	Edn. WolfN II, 70; WolfSq, 79.
47	33v	Piata ti mova	2^2	B	B[allata] bonaiutus chorsini. pitor		Edn. WolfM II/III, no. 59.
48	34	Amor, tu vedi ch'io per te	2^2	B	B[allata] bonaiutus chorsini. pitor		
49	34v-35	Povero çappator	2^1	M	M[adriale] di ser lorenço di fir.	*Sq* f. 54v (2^2 voc.)	No text in rit. Edn. WolfSq, 95.
50	35v-36	I fu gia bianch' ucciel	2^2	M	M[adriale] di Ser donatto da chascia	*Sq* f. 78v-79	Text by A. degli Alberti. Edn. WolfSq, 116.
51	36	Po che da tte mi	2^2	B	[Francesco Landini]	*Sq* f. 142v; *FP* f. 5; *PR* f. 9v-10 (an.)	Text not fully underlaid in second half of Cantus. Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 88; WolfSq, 246.
52	36v-38	Cantano gl'angiolieti Santus	3^3	Mo	—		The two upper voices have a trope of the Sanctus text, which appears in the T. The Italian text is in M form, paralleled musically by the Sanctus (strophe) and Benedictus (rit.).
53	38	Io vegio in gran dolo	2^1	B	B[allata] di ser Nicholo dell proposto	*Sq* f. 128v; *FP* f. 45v-46	Facs. EllinwoodL, pl. III (*Sq*), V (*Lo*). Edn. EllinwoodF, no. 4; EllinwoodL, no. 13; MarroccoC, no. 7; WolfSq, 213.
54	38v-39	Chosi pensoso	3^2	Ca	[Francesco Landini]		
55	39	Chi 'l ben sofri non po	2^1	B	[Ser Nicholaus prepositus de Perugia]	*Sq* f. 88-89v	Text by Sacchetti (c. 1364). Facs. EllinwoodL, pl. V (*Lo*). Edn. PirrottaS, no. VI; WolfSq, 138.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
56	39v-40	Nell' aqua chiara	3^2	Ca	Frate vincenço	*Sq* f. 36v-37; *Pit* f. 32v-33	Facs. MarroccoC, pl. III (*Lo*). Edn. MarroccoC, no. 12; WolfSq, 67.
57	40v-41	Dappoy che 'l sole i dolçi raçi	3^2	Ca	Ser Nicholo del proposto	*Sq* f. 82v-83	Edn. MarroccoC, no. 8; WolfSq, 121.
58	41v-42	State su, donne	3^2	Ca	Chaccia di ser Nichollo del proposto		Text by Sacchetti (1372-73). Edn. MarroccoC, no. 18; PirrottaS, no. X.
59	42v-43	Itta se n'era star	2^1	M	M[adriale] di ser lorenço	*Sq* f. 45v-46 and 46v-47 (2^2 voc.)	Facs. Gandolfi, pl. XI (*Sq*). Edn. WolfG II-III, no. 49; WolfSq, 77.
60	43v	No dispregiar vi[r]tu	2^2	M	M[adriale] di ser Nicholo del proposto	*Sq* f. 87; *Pit* f. 44v-45	Text by Steffano di Cino Merciaio. Edn. WolfG II/III, no. 54; WolfSq, 134.
61	44	Ita se n'era star	2^1	M	M[adriale] Vincentii	*Sq* f. 35v (2^2 voc.); *Pit* f. 31v-32	Facs. Gandolfi, pl. X (*Sq*). Edn. WolfG II-III, no. 50; WolfSq, 65.
62	44v	So[t]to verdi frascetti	2^2	M	M[adriale] di ser Ghera[r]dello	*Sq* f. 26v; *FP* f. 88v-89; *Pit* f. 26v-27	Edn. PirrottaM, no. 31; WolfSq, 50.
63	45	Mentre che ['l] vagho viso	2^2	B	B[allata] di ser Nichollo del proposto	*Sq* f. 89	Edn. WolfSq, 138.
64	45v-46	La neve e 'l ghiaccio e venti d'oriente	2^1	M	M[adriale] di fratte Guigliemo di santo spirito		Text by Sachetti (c. 1365). PirrottaS, no. VII.
65	46v-47	I pregho amor	2^2	B	[Francesco Landini]	*Sq* f. 162 (3^3 voc.)	Some of T text missing. Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 125; WolfSq, 293.
66	47	Come tradi[r] pe[n]sasti donna may	2^2	B	B[allata] d'iachopo pianelaio de firençe		
67	47v-48	Lasso, per mie fortuno post' amore	3^3	B	[Francesco Landini]	*Sq* f. 131v	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 130; WolfSq, 220.
68	48v-49	Quanto piu charo fay	3^3	B	M. fracescho de frorençia	*Sq* f. 143v; *FP* f. 26v-27; *Pit* f. 90v-91 (3^2 voc.); *PR* f. 50 (3^1 voc.) (an.)	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 145; WolfSq, 248.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
69	49v-50	Per lla 'nfruença di Saturn e Marte	2^2	M	Madrialle di francescho degli orghanni	*Sq* f. 126v	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 6; WolfSq, 208.
70	50v-51	Se non ti piaque	2^2	M	M[adriale] di don paghollo	*Pit* f. 35v-36	
70a	51v	[Povero pellegrin]	$[2^2]$	M	M[adriale] di ser Nicholo del proposto	*Sq* f. 84	One textless line only of Cantus in *Lo.* Text by Sacchetti (c. 1367). Edn. PirrottaS, no. VIII; WolfSq, 127.
71	52v	Donna, i prego amor	3^1	B	[Francesco Landini]	*Sq* f. 145; *FP* f. 33; *Pit* f. 101v-102 (3^2 voc.)	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 115; WolfSq, 352.
72	53	Benche partir da te	2^2	B	Balata ser Nicholo del proposto	*Sq* f. 92v; *Pit* f. 128v-129	Edn. WolfSq, 146.
73	53v	Posando l'onbra delle verde fronde	2^1	M	—		
74	54	Bench'i serva con fe	2^2	B	—		
75	54v	Donna, tu pur i vecchi	2^2	B	—		
76	55	[D]iligenter advertant chantores	1^1	A	L'antefana di ser lor(er)enço		
77	55v-56	Ghaetta	1^0	E	—		Edn. WolfT, 24.
78	56-56v	Chominciamento di gioa	1^0	E	—		Edn. WolfT, 26.
79	56v-57	Isabella	1^0	E	—		Edn. WolfT, 28.
80	57-58	Tre fontane	1^0	E	—		Edn. WolfT, 30.
81	58, 59v	Belicha	1^0	E	—		Edn. WolfT, 33.
82	58v	Gia perch'i penso	2^2	B	[Francesco Landini]	*Sq* f. 169; *FP* f. 1v; *Pit* f. 68v-69; *PR* f. 48v (an.)	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 54; WolfSq, 310.
83	59	Bench' amar, crudel donna	2^1	B	—		Only text is the incipit and some words following music.
84	60-60v	Parlamento	1^0	E	—		Edn. WolfT, 35.
85	60v-61	In pro	1^0	E	—		Edn. WolfT, 38.
86	61-62	Principio di virtu	1^0	E	—		Edn. WolfT, 38.
87	62	Saltarello	1^0	E	—		Edn. WolfT, 38.
88	62v	Trotto	1^0	E	—		Edn. WolfT, 39.
89	62v	Saltarello	1^0	E	—		Edn. WolfT, 39.
90	62v-63	Saltarello	1^0	E	—		Edn. Schering B, no. 28 (3); WolfT, 40.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
91	63	Lamento di Tristano — La rotta	1^0	E	—		Edn. Gleason, 109; HAM, no. 59a; ScheringB, no. 28 (1); WolfT, 41.
92	63-63v	La Manfredina — La rotta della Manfredina	1^0	E	—		Edn. ScheringB, no. 28 (2); WolfT, 41.
93	63v	Saltarello	1^0	E	—		Edn. HAM, no. 59b; WolfT, 42.
94	63v-66	Dies irae	1^1	S	[Thomas de Celano]		Edn. LU, 1810.
95	66-68	Surgit Christus	1^1	S	—		Edn. Moberg, no. 5c.
96	68v	In forma quasi tra 'l veglar	$[3^2]$	Ca	Chaccia [Vincentii]	Identical with no. 43	T om. here. See also no. 43.
97	69	I son c'a seguitar	2^2	M	[Nicholaus de Perugia]	*Sq* f. 96v	Edn. WolfSq, 155.
98	69v	Ciascum faccia per se	2^2	B	B[allata] di ser Nichollo del proposto	*Sq* f. 90; *Pit* f. 31	Text by Soldanieri. Edn. WolfSq, 141.
99	70	Gi porte mi ebramant	2^0	V	[Donatus]	*Pr* f. 247 (text incipit in T only) (an.); *RU*1 no. 2 (text incipit in T only; "Absit principio virgo Maria meo" over Cantus)	Text incipit only in Cantus and T. Edn. Kammerer, 115.
100	70v-71	Con levrier e mastini	2^1	M	M[adriale] di ser gherardello	*Sq* f. 27v; *FP* f. 84v-85 (all concordances 2^2 voc.)	Facs. MGG I, 718 (*Sq*). Edn. PirrottaM, no. 25; WolfSq, 52.
101	71v-72	Tremando piu che foglia	2^2	M	M[adriale] Rosso de chollegrana		Edn. WolfG II-III, no. 60.
102	72v-73	Chosa non e ch'a se tanto mi tiri	3^1	B	—		
103	73	Non piu no piu diro	2^2	B	B[allata] di ser nicholo del proposto		
104	73v-74	El gra disio	3^1	B	[Francesco Landini]	*Sq* f. 147; *FP* f. 31; *Pit* f. 84v-85 (2^1 voc.)	Text by Malatesta. Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 118; WolfSq, 257.
105	74	Chançonete tedesche	1^0	—	—		Apparently T of four German songs, but there are no text incipits.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
106	74v-75	L'alma mia piagie	3^2	B	B[allata] M. francisci	*Sq* f. 131; *FP* f. 31v-32; *Pit* f. 65v-66 (all concordances 3^3 voc.)	Soll, no. 34. Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 127; WolfSq, 219.
107	75v-76	Nessun pongha sperança	3^2	B	[Francesco Landini]	*Sq* f. 162v; *FP* f. 40; *Pit* f. 116v-117 (all concordances 3^3 voc.)	Facs. ApelN, 393 (*Sq*); EllinwoodL, pl. VIII (*Pit*). Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 134; WolfSq, 294.
108	76v-77	Or sus, vous dormét	3^0	V	—	*Iv* 23; *PadC* 2 (incomplete); *Pit* f. 122v-124; *PR* f. 78v-79; *Str* 127 (all concordances 3^1 voc.)	Soll, no. 25. *Str* is a cft. "Ave Stella". Edn. ApelL, no. 70; VanM.
109	77v	Segugi a corde	3^2	Ca	—	*FP* f. 99	Facs. MarroccoC, pl. II (*FP*). Edn. MarroccoC, no. 17a (*FP*), no. 17b (*Lo*).
110	78	Comtenplar le gran cose	3^1	B	B[allata] di francescho	*Sq* f. 153; *FP* f. 82; *Pit* f. 113v-114	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 110; WolfSq, 273.
111	78v	Dolcie signiore	2^2	B	B[allata] di francescho		Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 37.
112	79	La dolce vista	2^0	B	B[allata] di francescho	*Sq* f. 150 (2^1 voc.); *Pit* f. 100 (2^2 voc.); *PR* f. 47v (3^2 voc.) (an.)	Text by Soldanieri. Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 126; WolfSq, 265.
113	79v-80	Lucea nel prato	2^2	M	M[adriale] di francescho	*Sq* f. 127	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 2; WolfN II, 74; WolfSq, 210.
114	80v-81	Per um verde boschetto	3^3	B	M[adriale](!) di fra bartolino	*Sq* f. 120v; *FP* f. 66 (2^2 voc.) (a 5th lower); *Pit* f. 39v-40; *PR* f. 23v (an.); *Luc* f. 2bv (2^2 voc.)	Soll, no. 25. Edn. WolfSq, 194.
115	81v	Kyrie	1^1	O	—		Appears in a Venetian Gradual of 1499 (London, B.M., I C 24240 and Paris, B.N., Rés. B 1482).
116	82v-83	Et in terra	3^1	O	—		
117	83v-85	Patrem	3^1	O	—		
	85v-86	(Scales by later hand)					
118	86	Tibi Christe splendor (by later hand)	1^1	H	—		
119	88v	(Textless piece)	2^0	—	—		

EDITIONS OF TEXTS

G. Carducci, *Cantilene e ballate, strambotti e madrigali dei secoli XIII e XIV,* Pisa, 1871, 309 (*Lo* 26), 238 (*Lo* 55), 314 (*Lo* 60), 263 (*Lo* 64), 264 (*Lo* 70a), 320 (*Lo* 72).

— 'Musica e poesia nel mondo elegante italiano del secolo XIV' in *Opere* VIII, Bologna, 1893, 358 (*Lo* 1 = 3), 380 (*Lo* 2), 358 (*Lo* 4), 357 (*Lo* 5), 320 (*Lo* 11), 362 (*Lo* 12), 363 (*Lo* 13), 385 (*Lo* 60), 376 (*Lo* 64).

V. Cian, 'Ballate e Strambotti del Secolo XV Tratti da un Codice Trevisano' in *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* IV (1884), 40 (*Lo* 51).

E. Levi, *Lirica italiana antica,* Florence, 1905, 123 (*Lo* 38).

E. Li Gotti, 'Il Codice di Lucca. Testi letterati' in *Musica Disciplina* IV (1950), 112 (*Lo* 17), 120 (*Lo* 27), 114 (*Lo* 114).

F. Sacchetti, *Il libro delle rime,* ed. A. Chiari, Bari, 1936, 111 (*Lo* 55), 148 (*Lo* 58), 122 (*Lo* 64), 124 (*Lo* 70a).

F. Trucchi, *Poesie italiane inedite,* Prato, 1846, II, 166 (*Lo* 4); 168 (*Lo* 5); 169 (*Lo* 19); 173 (*Lo* 25); I, 253 (*Lo* 26); II, 163 (*Lo* 30); 172 (*Lo* 31); 171 (*Lo* 56); 184 (*Lo* 58); 146 (*Lo* 60); 154 (*Lo* 72); 192 (*Lo* 98); 161 (*Lo* 112).

A. Wesselofsky, *Il Paradiso degli Alberti,* Bologna, 1867, I, 231 (*Lo* 17).

The following are critical notes relative to the transcription of the musically outstanding *Et in terra.* Indications of clef and clef-changes come immediately after the designation of the voice-part. Numbers alone refer to measures of the modern score and exponents to the actual notes.

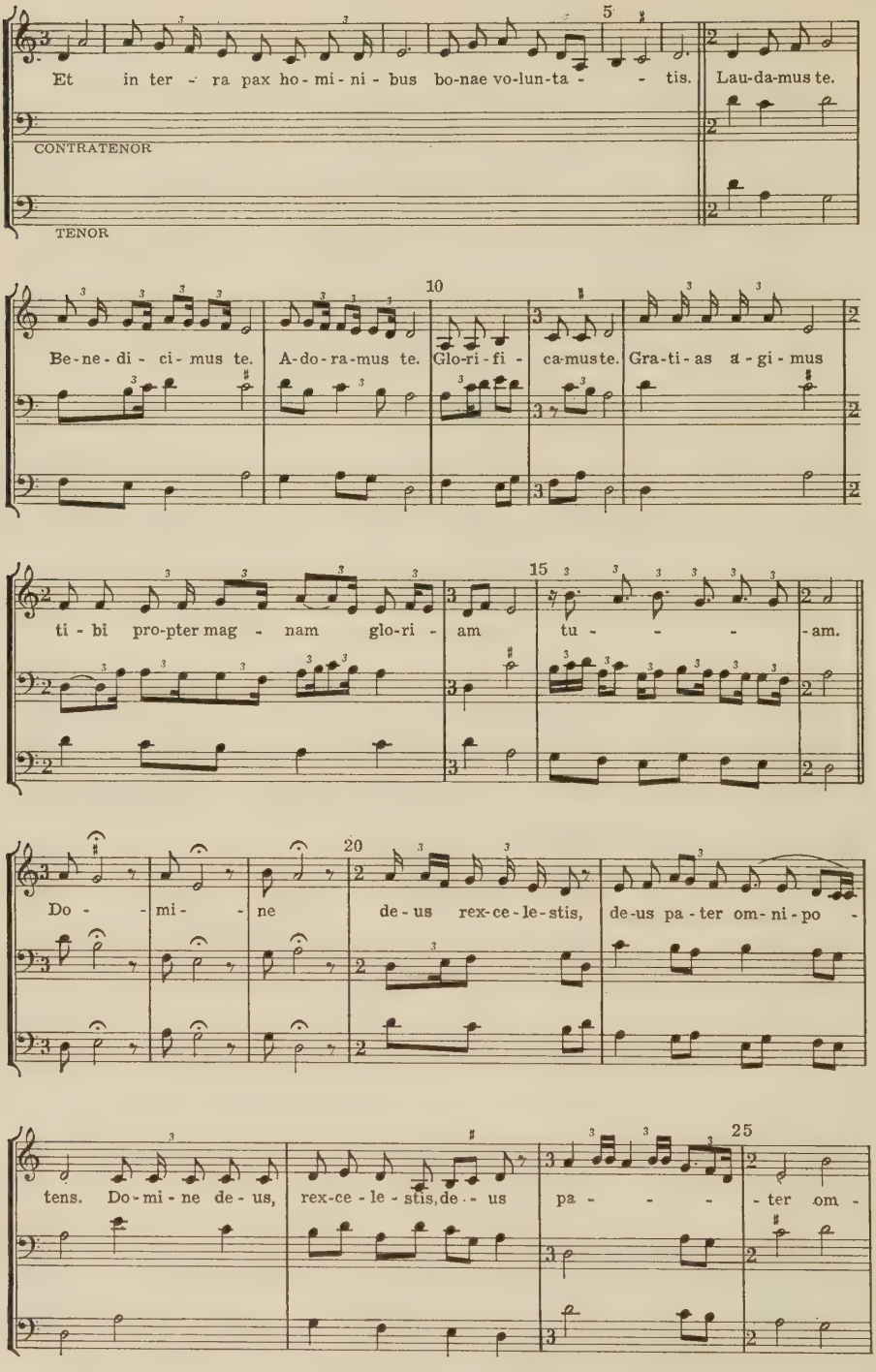
<Cantus>: C^2 1, C^1 12, C^2 21^3, C^1 29 // red notes: 24, 37-47, 54^{1-6}, 55^4, 63-71 // white notes: 15^6, 21^{3-6} // 65^4 ♪ *cod* //

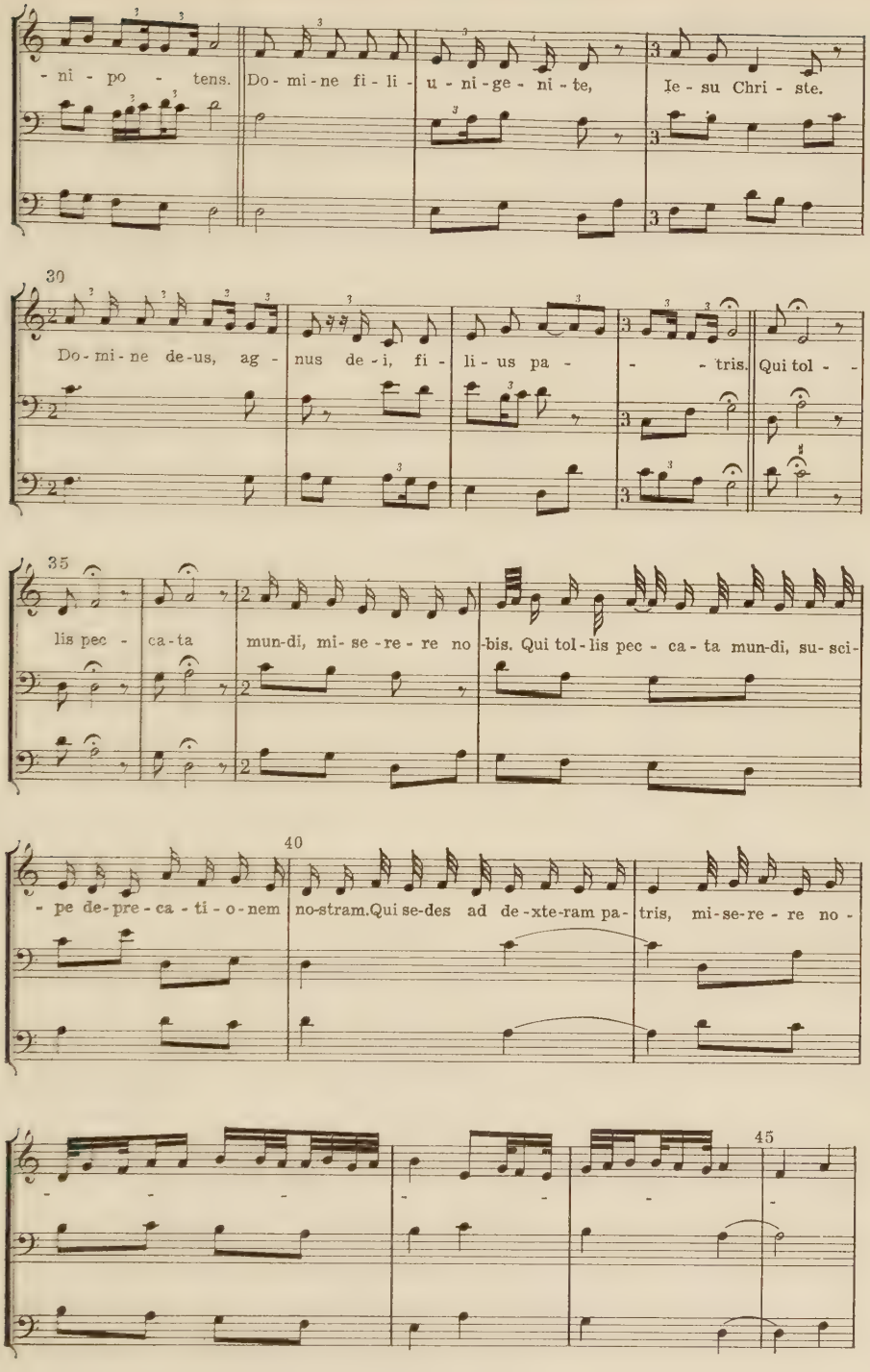
Text underlay: *cod* 26^2 26^5 // 33^3 // 56^3 //

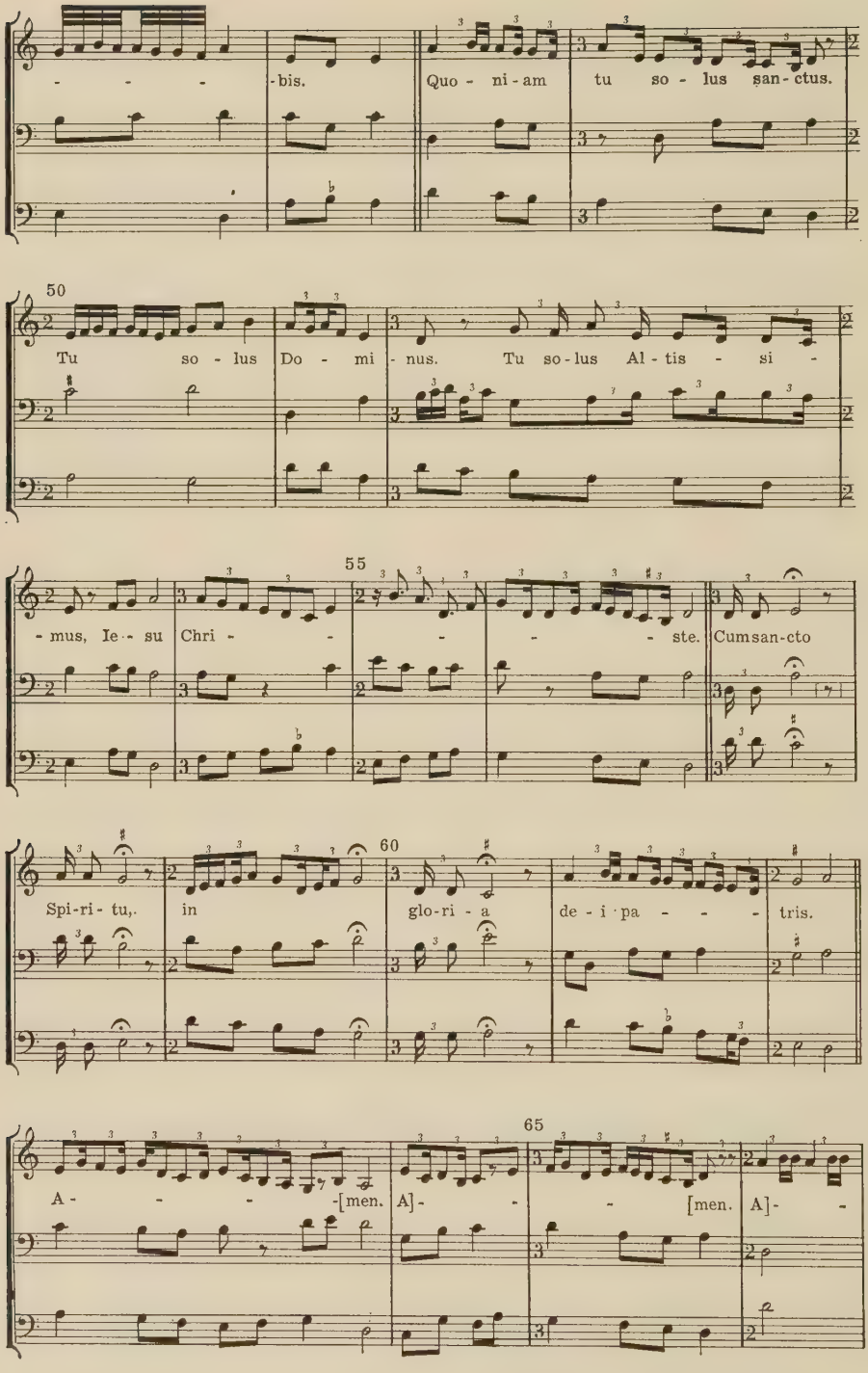
-po-tens -tris -ste

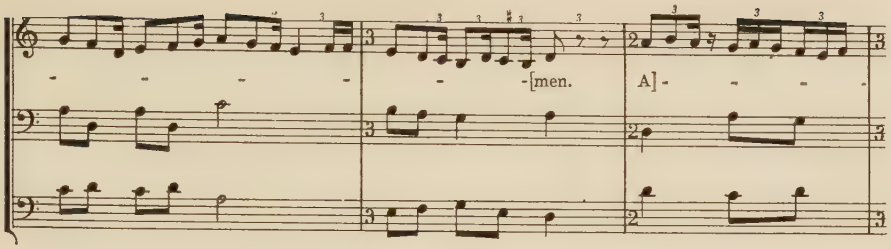
Contratenor: C^4 over F^2 7, C^4 14^2, C^5 17, C^4 22^2 // white notes: 9^{3-4}, 10^{1-2} // 18^2 *D cod* //

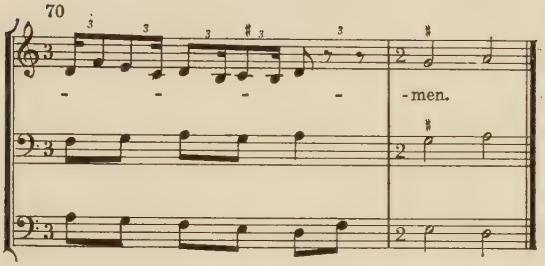
Tenor: C^4 7, C^4 over F^2 27 // white notes: 33^{1-3} // 60^1 ♪ *cod* //


Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo-nae vo-lun-ta - - tis. Lau-da-mus te.
CONTRATENOR
TENOR
Be-ne-di - ci - mus te. A-do-ra-mus te. Glo-ri-fi - ca-mus te. Gra-ti-as a - gi - mus
ti - bi pro-pter mag - nam glo-ri - am tu - - - - am.
Do - - mi - - ne de-us rex-ce-le-stis, de-us pa-ter om-ni-po -
tens. Do-mi-ne de-us, rex-ce-le-stis, de - - us pa - - - - ter om -


- ni - po - tens. Do - mi - ne fi - li - u - ni - ge - ni - te, Ie - su Chri - ste.
30
Do - mi - ne de - us, ag - nus de - i, fi - li - us pa - - - tris. Qui tol - -
35
lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, mi - se - re - re no - bis. Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, su - sci -
40
- pe de - pre - ca - ti - o - nem no - stram. Qui se - des ad de - xte - ram pa - tris, mi - se - re - re no -
45


- - - - bis. Quo - ni - am tu so - lus san - ctus.
50
Tu so - lus Do - mi - nus. Tu so - lus Al - tis - si -
55
- mus, Ie - su Chri - - - - - ste. Cumsan-cto
60
Spi-ri - tu,. in glo-ri - a de - i pa - - - - tris.
65
A - - - - [men. A] - - - [men. A] - -


-[men.
A]-


70
-men.

AN UNRECOGNIZED POLYPHONIC LAI OF MACHAUT

RICHARD H. HOPPIN

In reviewing Leo Schrade's new edition of *The Works of Guillaume de Machaut,* I called attention to the fact that Lai 17, "Un Lay de Consolation", was in reality a two-voice composition [1]. As evidence in support of that assertion, some introductory remarks, a complete transcription, and rather extensive notes and comments are here presented.

The clue to the polyphonic character of the "Lay de Consolation" lies in the provision of a new melody for the second half of each strophe. In all the other lais of Machaut, the metrically identical halves of each strophe are repeated to the same melody. This curious anomaly in Lai 17 led to a comparison of the two melodies of each pair and the discovery that they create two-voice polyphony in a manner that cannot possibly have been accidental. The delay in making this discovery is attributable, in part at least, to the strange fact that even the scribe who originally copied the lai — it exists only in the Paris Ms, Bibl. Nat., f.frçs. 9221 (E) — was apparently unaware of its polyphonic nature. The notation in no way distinguishes it from the other lais, and polyphonic performance is even made impossible by the fact that strophe 9a is written on folio 126, while strophe 9b begins at the bottom of that folio and continues overleaf on the verso.

As is well known, manuscript E is one of the most sumptuous but not one of the most reliable Machaut sources. Nowhere is this unreliability more clearly demonstrated than in the sometimes widely variant transcriptions of the "Lay de Consolation" by Ludwig and Schrade. One of the major difficulties arises, as is frequently the case with Machaut, from a too sparing use of the point of division or perfection. Ludwig proceeded on the assumption, generally well-founded, that imperfection *a parte post* is preferable to *a parte ante*. Schrade, on the other hand, being guided chiefly by the placement of the notes in the manuscript, usually chooses to imperfect the following rather than the preceding note. This not only displaces whole passages by one minim (eighth note) but in many cases forces the imper-

[1] In *Notes,* for June, 1958. Machaut's works are contained in Vols. II and III of *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* (Monaco, 1956), with a separate volume of *Commentary Notes.* The lai is No. 17 in Schrade's edition but No. 23 in F. Ludwig, *Guillaume de Machaut Musikalische Werke* (Leipzig, 1954), IV, 77.

fection of a semibreve that is followed by a semibreve rest. While such imperfection is specifically permitted by at least one contemporary theorist [2], it is so uncommon in practical sources that its appearance immediately arouses suspicion as to the accuracy of either the transcription or the original source. Ludwig's method of dealing with these passages has the double advantage of removing this notational peculiarity and of providing a much more acceptable polyphonic version.

A few passages in the lai are obviously corrupt even in a monophonic transcription. All the necessary emendations have been indicated in the Notes, usually with reference to the solutions of Ludwig and Schrade. One emendation not essential to the monophonic version occurs in the *clos* ending of strophe 5a. Neither Schrade nor Ludwig comments on the fact that both *ouvert* and *clos* cadences of this strophe end on the same note. Yet this happens only one other time in over 150 first and second endings in the lais [3]. In itself, this is sufficient to suggest the desirability of emendation, and I have altered bars 86a-87a, as indicated in the Notes, to produce a normal cadence on a perfect fifth.

Lest this discussion of emendations cast doubt on the legitimacy of the polyphonic version, it should be recalled that many of the unquestionably polyphonic pieces are equally in need of editorial action. Indeed, for its length, and with no more reliable source for comparison and correction of errors, the polyphonic version of the "Lay de Consolation" presents remarkably few problems.

One problem, not entirely unrelated to the musical transcription, arises from the inaccurate placement of the text. In his notes for this lai, Ludwig remarked on the difficulties created by the frequent lack of proper syllable division and the unclear grouping of notes [4]. On the other hand, an intermittent effort to match words and music may be seen in some widely spaced notes and in certain groupings that belie the normal rhythmic patterns of the mensuration. Both situations place added burdens on the transcriber. As we have seen, taking account of the placement of notes may even alter the musical transcription. More often, the modern editor must resort to arbitrary dispositions of the text, which it would be neither possible nor profitable to catalogue in detail. In a few cases, and for reasons indicated in the Notes, I have retained as nearly as possible the original placement of

[2] *Ars Discantus secundum Johannem de Muris* in Coussemaker, *Scriptores,* III, 77. Item duplex longa perfecti majoris, vel longa, vel brevis, vel semibrevis ante pausam sibi similem posita si non imperficiantur a parte ante cujus valoris sunt plene, et valet quelibet tres figuras. [With examples.]

Sed posset quelibet imperfici a parte ante nonobstante quod ante pausam sibi similem posita est. [With examples.]

[3] Lai 2, 5th Strophe.

[4] *Op. cit.,* IV, 79.

the text. These passages may easily be adjusted in accordance with the principles of text placement observable in the rest of the composition.

No accidentals have been indicated beyond those present in the manuscript, and there are very few passages in which further *musica ficta* seems absolutely essential. Since no entirely indisputable additions can be made — beyond the obvious application of an accidental to both of two repeated notes — it has been deemed best to make no editorial suggestions whatsoever.

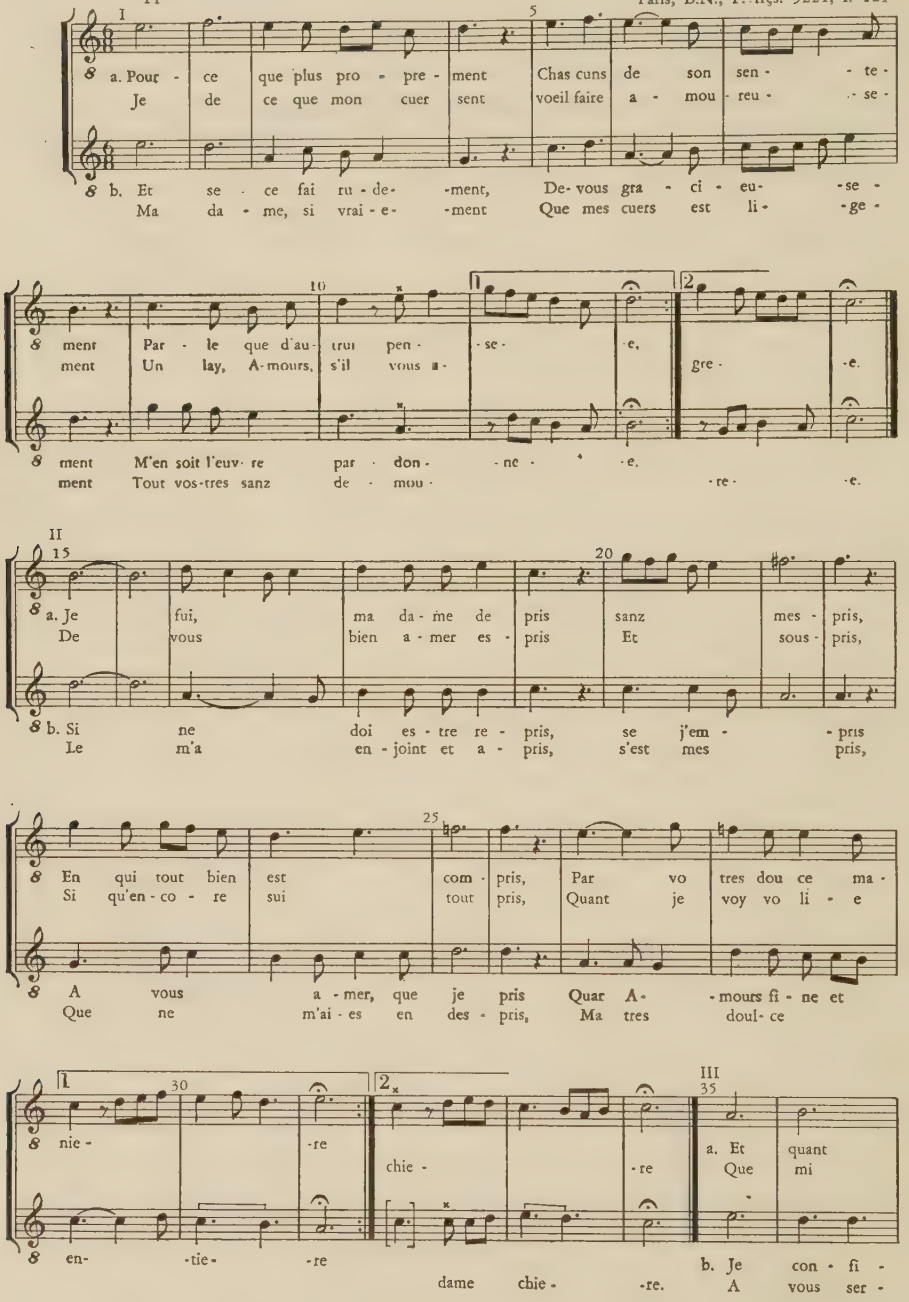
University of Texas
Austin, Texas

GUILLAUME DE MACHAUT

"Un Lay de Consolation"

Richard H. Hoppin

Paris, B.N., F. frçs. 9221, f. 125v


I
5
a. Pour - ce que plus pro - pre - ment Chas cuns de son sen - - te -
Je de ce que mon cuer sent voeil faire a - mou - reu - - se -
b. Et se - ce fai ru - de- -ment, De- vous gra - ci - eu- -se -
Ma da - me, si vrai - e- -ment Que mes cuers est li - -ge -
10
1
2
ment Par - le que d'au- trui pen - - se - e, gre - e.
ment Un lay, A-mours, s'il vous - re - e.
ment M'en soit l'euv- re par - don - - ne - e.
ment Tout vos-tres sanz de - mou -
II
15
20
a. Je fui, ma da - me de pris sanz mes - pris,
De vous bien a - mer es - pris Et sous - pris,
b. Si ne doi es - tre re - pris, se j'em - - pris
Le m'a en - joint et a - pris, s'est mes pris,
25
En qui tout bien est com - pris, Par vo tres dou ce ma -
Si qu'en - co - re sui tout pris, Quant je voy vo li - e
A vous a - mer, que je pris Quar A- - mours fi - ne et
Que ne m'ai - es en des - pris, Ma tres doul- ce
1
30
2
III
35
nie- -re chie - -re a. Et quant
Que mi
en- -tie- -re dame chie - -re. b. Je con - fi -
A vous ser -

40
je me sen - ti a ce me - ne Par le po - oir d'A - mours qui
pen - ser fu - rent tout or - de - ne En vous, ma dame, en qui tous
ans de vostre hu - mi - li - te D'ar - dant de sir fort es - pris
vir de bon - ne vo - len - te M'of - fri, da - me moult de pa -
1. 2. 45 IV 50
tous cuers vaint,
mes corps maint,
a. Et vous, ma dame hon-no - re -
De ma - niere as - se - u - re -
et con traint,
our at - taint.
b. Dont ma cou lour fu mu - e -
He - las! doul - ce de - si - re -
55
e, De fran - chise en - lu - mi - ne - e,
e, Par sem - blant en - a - mou - re - e,
e Et ma vi - gour tre - sa - le - e,
e Gai - res [n'es - tes] a - pre - ste - e
60
D'hu - mi - li - te re - nom - me - e Et de toute hon-
si fis - tes - es - tre dou - ble - e L'ar dour et re -
Com - me se cho - se fa - ce - e M'e - ust
At - tain - te me ap - pri - se - e De la
65 1
nour pa - re - e, Di - sant grant - mer - cis
nou - ve - le - e, Ou - j'es -
trou - ble a jour - ne - e tous mes es - pe - ris.
peine a moy don - ne - e Pour vos -

2
70
V
toi - e mis.
tre doulz vis.
a. Ain - si de - par - tant,
Que tous jours pre - sent
b. Si me mis a - vant
La doul - cour si grant
75
80
Ma da - me vail - lant, Fui de vous; maiz tant Me sen - ti
Es toie et ten dant A vo doulz sem blant Et gent corps
Par main-tes fois, quant Vers vous es - ba - tant, Ju - ant et bour -
Es - toi - e sen - tant En vous re - gar - dant Que mieux n'en vi -
1
2
85
en grant De - vers vous re - trai - re
plai sant, Pour y re tour fai re.
dant On se pou - oit trai - re,
vant Ne me pe - ust plai - re.
VI
or
90
a. Et ce m'a te - nu en joi - e Si gran de que ne vou -
En tres tout me de - li - toi - e Et sanz gre-van - ce fai -
b. Quant au - cu - ne part a - loi - e, Si tres le - giers me sen -
Ne nul cour-roux ne te - noi - e, Puis qu'a pen-ser m'a-tour -
95
100
loi - e Grei - gneur bien ne ne que - roi - e
soi - e Tout ce que de cuer pen - soi - e
toi - e Que a mon a - vis je vo - loi - e;
noi - e A vous doul - ce simple et coi - e,

105
VII
Que la dou cour ou j'es - toi - e, a. He - las!
Com - ment - ? - n'y fail - loi - - e. Par mal -
Et ain - si mon temps pas - soi - - e. b. Quar la
A cui tous mes cuers s'ot - troi - - e. Tant que
110
cel - le dou - ce vi - e Ren - voi - sie Et jo - lie
vai - se gen - gle - ri e Par en - vie Com-men - cie
per - ver - se pour - ri - e En - ne - mi - e Re noi -
jour, nuit ne de - mi - e N'est par - ti - e Ne fail -
115
1
M'a pou te - nu com - pai - gni - e, Dont je me du - eil fort.
Dieus Ma - le - bou - che mal - di - e
i - e, De - fait con - tre moy par - ti - e Et me greve a fort
li - e, Ma dou - lour ne a - men - ri - e
VIII
120
2
Et dont elle a port. a.Quar ce que j'ay plus doub te que mou rir
Vers ma da - me que j'aim,craing et de - sir
b. S'il n'en pe - ust qu'a moy seul mes - ve - nir
Dont j'ay pis que mort. Et ce mes cuers ne pour roit con - sen - tir.
125
M'est a - ve - nu; bien doy l'eu re ha - ir. C'est qu'il me faut, et parforce,ab - ste -
Plus que cho - se que Dieus ait fait ve - nir. He - las!Com ment pour rai je ce souf -
Je fus - se tous con - seil - les de choi - sir; Maiz ma - dame en pour-roit grant mal sen
Ain - si me doint A - mours de li jo - ir, Qu'on - ques vers lui n'oi cuer fait ne de

130
nir D'a - ler par - ler et aus - si - d'en - voi - er
frir? Je ne le scay, se
1
2 135
Dieus me vueil - le ai - der.
tir Et sanz rai - son soi o - ir re - pro - chier,
sir Ne pen - se - e pour s'on - nour em - pi - rier.
IX
140
a. Et elle est, a di - re voir, Plein - ne de si grant sa -
Qu'on ne lui pour roit mou - voir A mal ne li de - ce -
b.Chas - cun scet bel re - ce - voir Dont sa bon - te ap - pa -
Dont je me doy bien do - loir Et a - voir cuer triste et
145
voir Et si bien veult son de voir Fai re leur elle est te
voir; Tant est pour tout par - ce - voir Sage et de bien pour - ve
roir Se fait et ra - men - te - voir Tant que bien est con gne -
noir, Quant de si plai - sant mi - roer M'est cou - ver - te la ve -
1
150
2
X
155
nu - e
u - e.
a. Je ne scay Que ver -
A - me - ray, Ser - vi -
u - e.
u - e.
b.Pour es - may se je
Ains a - ray - Cuer tres
160
ray, Ou i - ray Ne que de - ven - ray. Mais, com - ment qu'il
ray, Cre - mi - ray Et o - be - i - ray Ma da - me sanz
l'ay, Et mal - tray Je ne lais - se - ray Bon grain pour le
vray Et fe - ray ce que de - ve - ray, Et vail - le que

1
2
165
XI
ail- le, fail- le a. Ma tres doul - ce dame ex - cel -
Que bonne A - mours en mon cuer
pail - le, vail- le. b. En ce lay faire ay mis m'en -
Si - veul - lies, s'on le vous pre -
170
175
len - te, Pour ce que vo loy aux cuer sen- te Et sa -
(s)en - te Pour vous, qu'on doit di - re vraie en- te De tout
ten - te Et com- pris, sans ce que je men- te, Ma vie,
sen - te, A l'o - ir lire és - tre pre - sen - te Et ne
1
2
180
XII
che le bien et do - lour de tou te hon - nour. a. „A - mis,
bien et Maiz il
at tains de vostre a - mour. b. Vif en
le te - nes a la - bour. Chis temps,
185
tieng cer tain - ne - ment Qu'il me des - plaist gran - de - ment
faut souf frir sou - vent La cho - ze qui bon - ne - ment
es - poir li - e - ment Et serf A - mours loi - al - ment,
et au - cu - ne - ment Ver - ras que pour toy brief, - ment
190
1
2
195
De la peinne a toy li - vre - e; de - e.
Tost ne puet estre a - men
Quar tou dis n'a - ra du - re - e
Se - ra joi - e re - cou - vre - e."

GUILLAUME DE MACHAUT — "UN LAY DE CONSOLATION"

Notes and Comments

General

The letters *a* and *b* after bar numbers indicate the upper and lower staves respectively.

Longa, brevis, semibrevis and minima are indicated by the abbreviations L, B, S and M.

In each voice, at the end of each strophe, a cross marks the beginning of the second ending as it is written in the manuscript.

All final notes in both open and closed endings are written as longs in the manuscript. Schrade always and Ludwig usually transcribe these as breves. In the present transcription the longs are indicated by fermatas rather than by double measures.

Strophe 1.

Bar 9a. (And 190a in Strophe 12). In neither place in my microfilm can I see after the second note the punctus that is necessary to produce the rhythm ♩ ♪♪♩ given by both Ludwig and Schrade. The punctus is found, however in both 9b and 190 b.

Bar 13b. The last note is S in the Ms. Corrected to M by both Ludwig and Schrade.

Strophe 2.

Bar 15a. Schrade notes that the note is L but transcribes it as B, although 15b is also L and is so transcribed.

Bar 27a. Imperfection of the B (as in Ludwig) makes the rest of the passage deviate from Schrade. In bars 29a and 32a, Ludwig makes the first note a perfect S, but there is no point of perfection to make this necessary.

Bar 32b. The placement of the *clos* ending differs from Ludwig and Schrade, and some adjustment is necessary in the polyphonic version. This may have resulted from the failure of the scribe to recognize the polyphony, although similar difficulties arise in some of the other polyphonic pieces.

Strophe 3.

Bar 40a. The M (*d'*) may imperfect *a parte post* as here or *a parte ante* as in both Ludwig and Schrade without detriment to the polyphony. There is no punctus.

Strophe 4.

As a result of the different application of imperfection mentioned in the introductory remarks, numerous passages do not agree with Schrade's transcription. Most of them do agree with Ludwig.

Bar 50b. B is 𝅗𝅥. in Schrade with the S in bar 51b imperfected.

Bar 52a. Schrade notes that here the M is placed close to the B, but he still imperfects the following S.

Bar 54a. The first M is altered by Schrade (in the middle of a series of minims!), but the last M of the series he does not alter.

Bar 57a. Again Schrade imperfects the following S, shifting the entire passage (to bar 61a). He thus follows the grouping M S of the original, and the groups of three M are not against the "Taktordnung" as Ludwig said. But the distribution of notes that Ludwig's method of transcription gives to bars 59a and 60a ♩ ♫ ♪, is found again in bars 83a and 178a In these two cases, the groups of three M cannot be shifted to coincide with the normal grouping of the prolation.

Bar 57b. The B is imperfected *a.p.p.* as in Ludwig.

Bar 62a. The dot after the first note in Ludwig (bar 59) is obviously a misprint as without it the values are entirely correct.

Bar 62b. Ludwig's version of the passage in this and the following bars is too greatly emended. It may be corrected very simply by assuming the first *f*♯ in bar 63b to be a M rather than the S of the Ms. (This is the only actual error that need be assumed in this strophe.)

Bar 63a. Schrade notes the absence of any punctus but still makes the first note a perfect S. In the present transcription, this bar has the same rhythm as bars 59a and 60a mentioned above.

Bar 64a. The last two notes are clearly S M. Ludwig has reversed the values — probably merely a misprint.

The underlaying of the text in this strophe is particularly unclear and is further complicated by the curious grouping of the notes. In certain passages I have adhered as closely as possible to the original placement, e.g., bars 57-61 in both *a* and *b*, and bars 63b-65b. In bar 54b, *n'estes* is an editorial addition of which no trace can be found in the Ms. It is commented on by neither Ludwig nor Schrade and is not found in V. Chichmaref, *Guillaume de Machaut, Poésies Lyriques* (Paris, 1909), II, 468.

Strophe 5.

Bar 72a. B is imperfected by following M as in Ludwig.

Bar 78a. Fourth note is S in Ms, transcribed as M. The whole passage from 75a to 79a seemed to offer difficulties to both Ludwig and Schrade who disagree as to its transcription. Schrade notes that the S in bar 78a (4th note) does not have a point of perfection. This is true, but neither is there a point of division between the two following M. Hence a correct transcription would be ♩. ♪♩ ♩. as Ludiwg has it, not the ♩ ♪♪♩ of Schrade. However, Ludwig ignored the punctus after teh first note of bar 75a and has the rhythm ♩ ♪♪♩ while Schrade has ♩. ♪♩ 𝅗𝅥.! The proposed change of the disputed note in bar 78a from S to M removes all these difficulties.

Bar 86a. This bar and the final note are a step higher in the Ms.

Strophe 6.

Bar 96b. There are two S rests in the Ms. One must be omitted as both Ludwig and Schrade note.

Bar 97a In both bars the rhythm ♩ ♪♪♩ given by Ludiwg and Schrade has been changed to ♩. ♫ . This was done, not to avoid the dissonant clashes,

bar 101a. which would have been quite in the style of Machaut, but because there

is no point of division after the first M in either of these bars. Such points do appear in bars 93a and 93b as well as elsewhere in the lai.

Some peculiarities of the text and its placement have been retained as a demonstration of the problems facing modern editors. In the last verse of *a* (bar 101a), two syllables are missing.

Strophe 7.

Bar 108a. Two M rests in the Ms. One must be omitted.

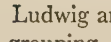
Bar 110a. The first two notes are repeated by mistake in the Ms. This passage is obviously corrupt as it stands. Since Schrade's correction adds another bar, I have used the version of Ludwig, which he arrived at, of course, without consideration of the two-part setting. The text underlaying in this passage again conforms to the Ms, although it is obviously incorrect. It makes clear, however, that the position of the text does not preclude Ludwig's omission of the two notes in bar 110a as Schrade's placing of the syllables might lead one to infer.

Bar 111b. The first three notes are clearly grouped together over the syllable *Re.*

Strophes 8-10.

No deviations from Ludwig and Schrade.

Strophe 11.

Bar 178a. Ludwig and Schrade have both "adjusted" the placement of the text. The grouping  is particularly clear.

bien et do-

Strophe 12.

Bar 190a. As in Strophe 1, there is no punctus in bar 190a, although one is present in 190b.

LOYSET COMPERE AND HIS WORKS *

LUDWIG FINSCHER

Like most composers of the Josquin period, Compère has been almost completely neglected, yet he is one of the most significant and celebrated musicians of his time. The only useful investigation of the motet at the time of Ockeghem [1] pictures Compère as a member of a rather later generation of composers of lesser interest, while the few pages devoted to him in general histories of the period reveal for the most part a haphazard choice of works and hence a subjective approach on the part of the authors. Ambros [2] gives a sympathetic and convincing sketch, but neglects historical relationships. Pirro [3] describes one or two works penetratingly enough, while Smijers [4] provides no more than a brief introduction to known material together with more detailed observations concerning the motet "Virgo caelesti". Reese [5] studies individual chansons in some detail and considers a few of the sacred works. The best and most varied account is by van den Borren [6].

The present study [7] is intended as a first attempt to assemble and list chronologically the complete output of the composer, at the same time assessing his historical importance within the Josquin circle. Since our knowledge of this period is very patchy, one can do no more than put forward certain suggestions, which may well be more in the nature of questions than answers. Nevertheless, in spite of the imperfections, it is hoped that this investigation will prove of value in furthering future studies of the Josquin period [8].

* *Editor's Note:* The Collected Works of Compère are in course of publication in *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* of the American Institute of Musicology.

[1] W. Stephan, *Die burgundisch-niederländische Motette zur Zeit Ockeghems,* Kassel 1937.

[2] A. W. Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik* III, 3rd ed. Breslau 1891, 252-255.

[3] A. Pirro, *Histoire de la musique de la fin du XIVe siècle à la fin du XVIe,* Paris 1940, 225-228.

[4] A. Smijers ed., *Algemeene Muziekgeschiedenis,* 2nd ed. Utrecht 1940, 112 ff.

[5] G. Reese, *Music in the Renaissance,* New York 1954, 223 ff.

[6] Ch. van den Borren, *Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Nederlanden* I, Antwerp 1948, 212 ff.

[7] It is a completely revised version of my dissertation *Die Messen und Motetten Loyset Compères,* Göttingen 1954 (unpublished typescript).

[8] The abbreviations employed here correspond with those in MGG. Musical examples and bar-numbers follow the complete edition which is now being published as CMM 15.

I. BIOGRAPHY

Practically nothing is known of Compère's life. He was a singer in two court chapels and there are a few notices about the positions he held and the benefices he gained as a cleric, and we know the date of his death. Doubtless due to the disappearence of Northern French archives, the rest is a blank.

The date and place of Compère's birth are unknown. According to his friend Jean Molinet, the celebrated poet, the Compère family was of St. Omer origin [9]. The motet "Omnium bonorum plena" however provides an approximate date of birth. It occurs in the most recent part of codex Trent 91 (c. 1470-80) [10] and bears unmistakable signs of being a very early composition patterned closely after an eminent model. Stylistically it is so different from the other works of Compère, in particular from the Milan output which probably dates from 1474, that it must be dated before this year at the latest. Quite apart from anything else, the fact that Dufay is mentioned as the leader of a group of living musicians when he died in 1474 proves that the composition could not have been composed any later. It was certainly designed after a model, but is by no means a badly written work; indeed, it must have been written by a capable and individual composer who, at the age of 20-25 years of age, was reasonably well-known to have found a place in the Trent collection. According to these criteria, Compère must have been born c. 1450 [11].

It is not clear by whom the budding composer received his training. The popular view that he was a pupil of Ockeghem, like Agricola, Brumel, Gaspar van Weerbeke and Josquin, rests solely on the well-known lines "pour lamenter nostre maistre et bon père" from Guillaume Crétin's "Déploration sur le trépas d'Ockeghem" [12]. It is certainly questionable whether

[9] Cf. H. Hewitt, *Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A,* Cambridge Mass. 1946, 65, which however must be accepted with reservations, since Molinet's reference could not be found on the page mentioned (*Chronique* IV, 293). The registers of births in St. Omer do not exist for the 15th century. Speculation about possible relations of the composer are idle, since the name Compère or Comperis was common at this time. Possibly Jean Comperis, who died in Antwerp in 1941, is a relation. He is described as "canonicus" and "artium magister" (cf. L. Theunissens, 'La musique à Anvers aux XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles' in *Annales de l'Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique* LVIII (1906), 234 f., 253.

[10] Cf. DTÖ VII, xix-xx.

[11] The possibility of an even earlier date cannot be excluded, but for the moment cannot be considered probable. Further biographical data and the presumed chronology of compositions agree perfectly well with the accepted date of birth 1450.

[12] Recently printed in Hewitt, *Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A,* 65; see also Reese, *Music in the Renaissance,* 137.

one can derive any certain conclusion from this formula. Not much greater help can be gained from a letter dated 3.11.1472, which duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza sent by the singer Thomas Leporis to "Johannes Oken". The duke wanted some more singers for the court chapel at Milan. "Johannes Oken" is certainly Ockeghem, and so it is quite possible that Compère was acquired by the duke from among Ockeghem's pupils on this very occasion, since he was already at Milan in 1474. It is equally possible that Compère was selected for the Milanese choir by Gaspar van Weerbeke, who set off from Milan for Flanders to find singers 14.1.1473 [13]. It is clear that these documents do not solve the problem of the composer's musical background.

On the other hand, the text of the motet "Omnium bonorum plena" is again useful. Characteristic in the list of musicians are the lesser known names of men who have not left us any compositions. Together with Corbet, who is otherwise unknown, are Dussart, Georget de Brelles (Bresle) and Hemart, who occupied one after the other the post of "magister puerorum" in Cambrai from 1462-1483 [14]. Before Dussart, Johannes Regis, who is also named in the motet text, also held the same position for a short time. Although Regis may have been mentioned because of his fame as a composer, it seems likely that the three "magistri puerorum" of only local importance were included because of their influence on Compère when he was himself a boy under their direction [15]. In this case he probably stood

[13] The documents are transcribed in E. Motta, 'Musici alla Corte degli Sforza' in *Archivio storico lombardo,* anno XIV (ser. II/4), 1887, 305 ff.

[14] Dussart (du Sart, de Sarto) 1462-1464, Georget de Brelles (George de Bresle) 1465-1466, Jean Hemart 1469-1483. The two "magistri" Rasse de Lavenne and Robert le Chanoine (1466-1469) are not mentioned by Compère. More significant is the omission of Hemart's successor, Jacob Obrecht, who took over the position long after Compère's presumed Cambrai period and for whom earlier connections with Cambrai are not traceable (for these dates see C. W. H. Lindenburg, *Het leven en de werken van Johannes Regis,* Amsterdam 1938, 4).

[15] The other composers mentioned in the motet do not reveal any direct connections with Cambrai. Busnois and probably Caron too were members of the court chapel of Charles the Bold (cf. MGG II, columns 515 ff., 859 ff.). They and the others (except perhaps Corbet and Faugues) were doubtless chosen because of their fame as composers. Hayne van Ghizeghem wrote the c.f. of the motet, but he is not cited, probably because he had only an indirect connection with Cambrai (cf. MGG V, column 1950). Moreover, Compère's relationship to Hayne is by no means clear. O. Gombosi has already pointed out the close artistic links between Ghizeghem and Compère ('Ghizeghem und Compère. Zur Stilgeschichte der burgundischen Chanson' in *Festschrift für Guido Adler,* Vienna 1930, 100 ff.), and hence personal contact between the two men seems likely. However, the theory that they may have met at the court of Jean II, duke of Bourbon, since they both often wrote music to his texts (cf. J. Marix, 'Hayne van Ghizeghem' in MQ XXVIII (1942), 283 f.), must be considered no more than an imaginative hypothesis.

closer to Dufay at first than to Ockeghem [16]. The legend that Compère was once a choirboy in St. Quentin has no foundation. It was given currency by Charles Gomart [17], who referred to documentary evidence in Héméré [18] and Colliette [19]. Colliette however did the same thing and referred to Héméré, though the latter did not mention the name of Compère once in the work cited [20].

The first event in Compère's life that can be verified is his stay in Milan (1474-75) when he was a singer in the court chapel of the artloving duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza, "aimans les chantres plus que nul prince du monde" [21]. 15.7.1474 the composer appears together with Josquin, Martini and Jacotin among the "cantori di capella" on the choir-roster with a payment of 5 ducats [22]. Here, as in the later lists, Compère is called Aluy-

[16] Two lists of choirboys, one from 1472-73, the other from c. 1475, also point to Cambrai. In them one Hotin Compère is mentioned, and indeed in the second list he has just died. He is probably a relative of Loyset (cf. A. Pirro, 'Jean Cornuel, vicaire a Cambrai' in *Revue de Musicologie* VII (1926), 190). Besides, it is clear that close connections existed between Cambrai and Milan, in which town Compère appears in 1474. The registers of the Milan choir (see below) name one "d. Antonio de Cambray" between 1474 and 1475. Georget de Bresle went from Cambrai to Milan via Béthune (cf. MGG II, columns 703 f.). Agricola and Cornuel travelled from Milan to Cambrai in 1475.

[17] 'Notes historiques sur la maîtrise de St. Quentin et sur les célébrités musicales de cette ville' in *Etudes St. Quentinoises* I, St. Quentin 1844-51, 261 ff.

[18] C. Héméré (Claudius Hemereus), *Tabella chronologica decanorum, custodum canonicorumque Regalis Ecclesiae S. Quintini*, Lutetiae Parisiorum 1633.

[19] L.-P. Colliette, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique, civile et militaire de la Province du Vermandois* III, Cambrai 1772, 149.

[20] Héméré does not mention Compère, although he was a canon, because the composer was active at the Eglise Collégiale, not at the cathedral (see below). No documents going back to the 15th and 16th centuries have been preserved from either building (according to information kindly forwarded by the Archives Départementales de l'Aisne, Laon), but without such documents the whole story cannot be proved. In another work (*Augusta Viromanduorum vindicata et illustrata ...*, Paris 1643, 337) Héméré names Compère among the canons of the collegiate church but not among the choirboys: "Itaque ab aevo praesertim Ludovici 12. et canonicos et Scholae praefectos habuimus musicae peritissimos, Iosquinum a Pratis, Carolum de Villari, Frumentinum, Ludovicum Compatrem, Bernouillaum, etc. scriptis suis notos posteritati." (kindly communicated by Mme. E. Lebeau, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).

[21] J. Molinet, *Chroniques* (ed. G. Doutrepont and O. Jodogne) I, Brussels 1935, 162.

[22] Copies of these accounts in Motta (see note 13) and most recently in C. Sartori, 'Josquin des Pres cantore del Duomo di Milano (1459-1472)' in *Annales Musicologiques* IV (1956), 64 f. A fourth list with no date, presumably older than that of 15.7.74, does not mention Compère (Sartori, 66). It is confusing to find a Loyzet among the "petits vicaires" in Cambrai (St. Barnabé 1474-St. Barnabé 1475)

seto, but his identity cannot be doubted since several motets in Milanese manuscripts appear under the name Aluyseto, while elsewhere they have the surname Compère [23].

In the choir-roster of 30.3.1475 Compère turns up again, and finally in a letter dated 4.12.1475. After that there is no trace of him in Milan, and he obviously departed consequent on the reduction in size of the court chapel choir after the murder of duke Galeazzo Maria in December 1476. Where he went we do not know, and it is uncertain whether he is to be identified with the Luiset Patin [24] who is to be found at the court of Naples in 1480. Certainly this composer cannot be the much later Loyset Piéton or any of the Loysets attached to the court of Philip the Handsome [25].

The next sure information about Compère is from the year 1486, for he is traceable in February as "chantre ordinaire du roy" (Charles VIII) in Paris [26]. Here he certainly came into contact with Ockeghem, albeit as an already fully equipped composer [27]. After this he is lost to sight again, though presumably he remained in the court choir under Louis XII and was rewarded for his services with valuable prebends, as was the king's custom [28]. His connections with the French court were certainly closer and

at exactly the same time. It is unlikely that Compère was "vicarius in absentia", and hence this must be another Loyset. The name appears again between 1483 and 1484 among the "petits vicaires" (Archives du Nord, Lille, G H 1136 fol. 4 and G H 1135 fol. 4. Pirro refers to these documents in *Jean Cornuel* ..., 191. The exact references are due to the kindness of M. de Saint-Aubin, Conservateur en chef des Archives du Nord).

[23] G. Cesari, 'Musica e Musicisti alla Corte sforzesca' in RMI XXIX (1922), 10, note 1. Cf. also the list of works below.

[24] E. van der Straeten, *La musique aux Pays-bas avant le XIXe siècle* IV, Brussels 1880, 28 f. Motta (see note 13), 526 refers to this source and adds cautiously "non arrischiamo ipotesi".

[25] Cf. van der Straeten, *La musique* ... VII, 108 and 178.

[26] A. Pirro, 'Pour l'histoire de la musique' in AMl III (1931), 51.

[27] In this respect W. Stephan's view that none of the presumed pupils of Ockeghem are traceable in Paris during the composer's lifetime (*op. cit.*, 7, note 11) requires modification.

[28] Cf. L.-P. Colliette (see note 19), 148: "Louis aimoit passionnement la musique, ... Il est le prince qui ait le plus rempli l'église de saint Quentin de Musiciens de Chantres de sa Chapelle. Avant lui, les prébendes ne s'en donnoient communement qu'aux officiers ecclésiastiques de la Maison royale. Cet usage, qu'introduisit Louis [this is not true!], donna lieu à des abus. Les Musiciens et les Chantres titulaires de ces prébendes en percevoient le revenu, sans résider; souvent le choeur de saint Quentin devenoit désert". Colliette quotes Héméré as his authority (*Augusta Viromanduorum,* fol. 337). Concerning the "carrière bénéficiale" of the composers, cf. also Ch. van den Borren, *Etudes sur le XVe siècle musical,* Antwerp 1941, 37. Prebends in Cambrai were evidently frequently given to singers of the court chapel, e.g. Martin Courtois 1463 (Pirro, *Histoire* ..., 102). Presumably Ockeghem had a say in these matters, for he also cultivated relations with Cambrai (*Idem,* 103, note 4).

of longer duration than the few remaining documents suggest [29].

From the composer's "carrière bénéficiale" we can obtain two further dates. Between 30.4.1498 and 5.5.1500 Compère was "doyen" at Saint-Géry in Cambrai, though he is no longer mentioned by the "chapitre général" after 12.10.1500 [30]. In the same year the composer is named "prévôt" at the collegiate church of St. Pierre in Douai. Contemporary documents have not survived [31], but trustworthy indications are to be found in Miraeus-Foppens [32] and Le Glay [33]. Since Miraeus-Foppens do not mention another name after Compère as "prévôt" before 1504, it is possible that the composer retained his post (or his prebend) till that year.

We know nothing of the succeeding years of the master's life. Perhaps he was already in St. Quentin shortly after 1504, since he certainly became

[29] The esteem in which the composer was held at the court of Louis XII is indirectly proved by the ms Paris BN f.fr. 2245, which was written in 1496 by Jean de Crespières (Crespinet) probably for a member of the Orléans family. Later it came into the possession of the court chapel (cf. E. Droz. 'Notes sur Me Jean Cornuel, dit Verjus, petit vicaire de Cambrai' in *Revue de Musicologie* VII (1926), 173; K. Jeppesen, *Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier,* Copenhagen-Leipzig 1927, xxxii, note 1 and lxxi; J. Marix, 'Hayne van Ghizeghem' (see note 15). Here Compère is represented by 9 works, more than any of the other composers, almost all of whom belong to the French court choir (Ockeghem, Josquin, Prioris), are named in Crétin's Déploration (Verjus, Fresneau) or have some connection with Cambrai (Hayne, Agricola, Mureau). Incidentally, Mureau like Compère is also traceable at Saint-Géry in Cambrai (Pirro, *Revue de Musicologie* VII (1926), 194). Moreover, Verjus like Compère was a singer in the Milanese choir and a friend of Jean Molinet's, while his journey from Milan to Cambrai led him through Compère's presumed birthplace St. Omer (*Idem,* 190 ff.). Evidently the links between the court chapel and Cambrai were very close (cf. note 28 above) and enclosed a chain of personalities which unfortunately is impossible to reconstruct today.

[30] Archives du Nord, Lille, 7 G 579, according to the kind communication of the Conservateur en chef, M. de Saint-Aubin. Cf. also Andreas Le Glay, *Cameracum Christianum ou Histoire ecclésiastique du Diocèse de Cambrai,* Lille 1849, 103. Le Glay gives only the year 1498. I am indebted to my colleague Dr. G. Croll, Göttingen, for this reference.

[31] Kindly notified by the Archives du Nord, Lille.

[32] *Diplomatum Belgicorum nova collectio sive supplementum ad opera diplomatica Auberti Miraei ... Tomus tertius cura et studio* Joannis Francisci Foppens, Brussels 1734, 155 (according to a kind communication from Mlle. Mestayer, Archiviste municipale, Douai). On the same page we find the remark "Petrus de Manchicourt, Duacenus, I.V.L. praefuit anno 1533, fuit idem Decanus Ecclesiae S. Petri Insulis", which clearly solves the problem of Manchicourt's birthplace, namely Manchicourt near Douai, not the one near Béthune. Van den Borren still leaves the question open as to which Manchicourt the composer belongs ('Musicologie et Géographie' in *La Renaissance dans les Provinces du Nord,* Paris 1956, 25, note 16).

[33] *Cameracum Christianum* ..., 114.

a canon at the collegiate church there towards the end of his life [34]. Compère died 16.8.1518 and was buried in the church, where six hexameters and an epitaph engraved on a pillar near to his tomb testify to his fame with unusual display [35]:

Hoc tegitur saxo Ludovicus Compater unus,
Musarum splendor dulcisonumque decus;
Mille annis jungas quinquagintos ter quoque senos
Sextano augusti morte solutus obit.
Quisquis praeteriens legis hac subsiste parumper
pro quamcumque potes manibus opem.

Epitaphium Ludovici Compatris quondam huius ecclesiae
celebris canonici cantorisve eximii.

Clauditur obscuro Ludovici Compatris antro
Rodenda a propriis hic caro verminibus
Musas dum vixit nobis confrater amaenas
Excoluit manes sint ubi vita docet.
Carmina quae tumulo sunt circum scripta legenti
Annus quo periit proditur atque dies.
L'an 1518, en aout, 16 jours.

Compère's fame is evident from numerous other contemporary sources. In the famous passage from Gafurius concerning the "celeberrimus . . . in contrapuncto processus notularum" [36] the composer is named together with Josquin, Gaspar, Agricola, Obrecht, Brumel and Isaac. If this reveals no stylistic individuality in Compère, at least it proves that he was already numbered among the greatest composers of the period at the turn of the century. Pietro Aron cites Compère's "Nous son mens" (Nous sommes de l'ordre) together with "alcuni altri . . . antichi come Orto, Alessandro agricola, Pierazzon de la rue, Japart, . . . Isach, & Obreth" when giving examples from the *Odhecaton* of how to avoid the "quinta imperfetta" by musica ficta [37].

[34] The theory that Compère was chancellor of the cathedral (or the collegiate church?) stems from canon Quentin Delafons (1594-1650) and is quoted by Gomart (see note 17), 252 and J. Delporte, 'Loyset Compère' in *Revue liturgique et musicale* XV-XVI (1932). Since the epitaph only bears the word "canonicus", it is clear that we are in the presence of another legend. The (incomplete) list of chancellors does not name Compère (kindly notified by the Archives Départementales de l'Aisne).

[35] Jean Mouton, who was also active in the French chapel royal and later became a canon at St. Quentin, was given only a brief, rather austere epitaph in the vernacular when he died in 1522, though he was buried close to Compère (cf. the text of the epitaph in J. Delporte, 'Jean Mouton' in *Revue liturgique et musicale* XVI (1932)). The texts of Compère's inscriptions are from Gomart (see note 17).

[36] *Practica musicae,* Mediolani 1496, liber III, caput xii.

[37] *Toscanello in musica,* Venetiis 1529, aggiunta fol. I.

Compère was a close friend of the poet-musician Jean Molinet, who, in a "lettre a maistre Loÿs Compere", unfortunately talks more of his own infirmity than of his friend's way of life:

Compere, vous passés le temps
En amours, comme je suppose,
Vous nourissiés les biens chantans
De l'art, que vostre engin compose;
Ces deux pellerins repentans
Vont devers vous et l'ung propose
Rapporter chansons cliquetans;
S'ainsy est, point ne m'y oppose;
Viellesse, puis sept ou huit ans,
A ma bouche silence impose.
Tristesse par ses ars boutans
De joieusetté me depose;
Le mal que mes yeux sont sentans
En sy tres grand dangier me pose
Que je vois les parois tatans:
Pour estre aveugle me dispose.
Ne me contés des frequentans
La bassee, je me repose. [38]

In the lamentation on the death of Ockeghem, Molinet includes Compère among the greatest masters of his time:

Acoultrez vous d'habitz de doeul,
Josquin, Perchon, Brunel, Compere,
Et pleurez grosses larmes d'oeul;
Perdu avés vostre bon pere [39].

For his part, Compère has named the poet in the musician motet "Omnium bonorum plena", though Molinet only played a minor role as composer [40]. The basis for this preference lay probably in Molinet's close connection with the Cambrai circle. Like Compère, the poet later obtained as a benefice a canonicate at Saint-Géry [41]. At the end of the 15th century Compère and Molinet are named together in a humorous „cento" from the ms Pavia 362 [42]. A mutual friendship bound both of them to the poet

[38] *Les faictz et dictz de Jean Molinet,* ed. N. Dupire, II, Paris 1937, 779. Cf. also P. Champion, *Histoire poétique du XVe siècle* II, Paris 1923, 390 and N. Dupire, *Jean Molinet,* Paris 1932, passim.

[39] *Les faictz et dictz* ..., 833.

[40] Concerning Molinet's connection with music, see Jeppesen, *Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier,* xxxiv and Dupire, *Jean Molinet,* passim.

[41] Cf. Dupire, *Idem,* 18, note 1 and p. 24.

[42] See the text in Jeppesen, *Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier,* xxxiv: "He! Molinet! engreine, engreine! He! Molinet! engreine toy! Ne touchés a moy! J'ay perdu

Philippe de Fenin from Arras, who sent to his "chier amy" Compère his "Jeu de sainct Panchart" with an accompanying letter in verse [43].

It was pointed out earlier that Compère's name is not missing from Crétin's "Déploration sur le trépas d'Ockeghem" [44]; and the same is true of the "Livre de la Deablerie" of Eloy d'Amerval [45], which lists many members of the French chapel royal. The catalogue of composers drawn up by Paulus Cortesius [46] is doubtless arranged to suit the taste of Pope Leo X. After more detailed notices concerning "Juschinus Gallus", "Jacobus and "Herricus Isaac" comes the following:

> "... nec longo quidem intervallo Alexander Agricola / Antonius Brunellus / Lodovicus Compater / Io. Spatarius Bononiensis [sic!] ab ea musica laude absunt: ex quibus quisquis alius alio plus vel artis / vel suavitatis sit in construendo nactus / sitque alius alio / aut mutuatione / aut commenti novitate vendibilior / omnes tamen sunt scienter: in hoc praecentorio genere versati / ex quibus multa ad senatorium usum trasferi possint ..."

Jean Lemaire de Belges in his "Traicté intitulé la concorde des deux langages" not only praises the "vertus colourés" of Josquin Desprez and Ockeghem's "harmonie très fine" but also "les termes doux de Loiset Compère" — a not unfitting characterisation which, as with Molinet's remarks, is primarily aimed at Compère the songwriter [47]. Among the "memorabiles", the composer appears again in Pierre Moulu's motet "Mater floreat florescat" [48]:

tout mon argent au gieu de dés. Coquelicot, la douleur que je reçoy obly, obly, obly, obly! Helas! Je ne fille, fille mye, fillarey james, eschaudés tous, Chautz eschaudés: visibilium omnium, chant, Compere, et invisibilium. Sus le fon du cul du baril grant cop luy donne! Ne touchez a moy! J'ay perdu tout mon argent au gieu de dés."

[43] Champion, *Hist. poétique* ..., 365, note 3. Unfortunately, the only source (Bibl. de Tournai 105, fol. 437v) was destroyed during the war in 1940. The catalogue (P. Faider and P. van Sint Jan, *Catalogue des manuscrits conservés à Tournai,* Tournai 1950, 127) only gives the opening: "Lettres envoyées par le dict Philippe à Loyset Compère quand il luy envoia le jeu de sainct Panchart. Chier amy qui cognois ma <mine> ... Rimes, exprimées à l'aide de rébus représentant un chat et un rat." I am indebted to the Library at Tournai for this information.

[44] Cf. note 12.

[45] Quoted in full in J. Marix, *Histoire de la musique et des musiciens de la cour de Bourgogne sous le règne de Philippe le Bon,* Strasbourg 1939, 184; the Compère passage also in Reese, *Music in the Renaissance,* 263.

[46] *De cardinalatu,* In Castro Cortesio [Rome] 1510, liber II, cap. vii, fol. lxxiiii. Cf. also A. Pirro, 'Leo X and Music', in MQ XXI (1935), 1 ff.

[47] Quoted by Hewitt, *Odhecaton,* 66.

[48] Florence, Biblioteca Olschki. See A. Bonaventura, *Di un codice musicale mediceo,* Florence 1913, 9. Bonaventura does not give any signature. The manuscript was not available to me.

Mater floreat florescat
modulata musicorum melodie
crescat celebris Du Fay cadentia
prosperetur preclaris
Regis Busnoys Baziron subtiles glorientur
congaudeat Obreth Compere
Eloy [49] Hayne la Rue memorabiles
Josquin incomparabilis bravium accipiat.
Rutilet delphicus de Langueval ...

Compère's celebrity did not diminish after his death. About 1530 Jean Daniel (Maître Mitou) mentions the composer in an extensive enumeration of musicians in one of his Noëls [50], and as late as 1550 Compère is included by Rabelais in the Prologue to the fourth book of "Pantagruel" with those composers who, resting on Olympus, can make the best of a chanson with somewhat immoral texts:

> Et me souvient ... avoir un jour de Tubilustre, es feries de ce bon Vulcan en may, ouy jadis en un beau parterre Josquin des Prez, Olkegan, Hobrethz, Agricola, Brumel, Camelin, Vigoris, de la Fage, Bruyer, Prioris, Seguin, de la Rue, Midy, Moulu, Mouton, Guascoigne, Loyset Compere, Penet, Fevin, Rouzee, Richafort, Rousseau, Consilion, Constantio festi, Jacquet Bercan, chantans melodieusement:
>
> Grand Tibault, se voulant coucher
> Avecques sa femme nouvelle [51].

Many of these quotations, it is true, and particularly those in "Pantagruel" and Daniel's Noël, represent the tendency to give an exhaustive list of composers and can hardly be adduced as evidence of their fame. Nevertheless, the number and weight of these notices reveals the esteem in which Compère was held at St. Quentin, and his friendship with contemporary poets reveals that he was considered a great artist and personality of the era. An investigation of the wealth of manuscripts and prints containing his works will only confirm this opinion.

[49] Bonaventura's reading "Cloy" is certainly erroneous. Evidently the name should be Eloy d'Amerval, who, like Molinet, was both poet and musician.

[50] H. Chardon, *Les Noëls de Jean Daniel,* Le Mans 1874, 7 quoted by Reese, *Music in the Renaissance,* 278. The passage runs: "Aussi s'esment Loyselet / Qui besongna de couraige / Puis Fenin [Fevin] le proprelet / Ne mist ses oeuvres en caige ..."

[51] New Prologue to book IV in the first edition of the complete "Pantagruel", Paris 1552. *Oeuvres* II, ed. Burgaud des Marets and Rathery, Paris 1873 (2nd ed.), 32 ff. Cf. also N. C. Carpenter, 'Rabelais and the Chanson' in PMLA 65 (1950), 1212 ff. Miss Carpenter's attempt to characterise the groups of composers according to their songs (the older "melodieusement", the younger "mignonnement"), as though this was Rabelais' own intention, is not convincing. Indeed, both groups are obviously haphazardly put together and cannot even be wholeheartedly termed older and younger in every case. The rather vague possibility that the "jardin secret" in which

II. THE SOURCES

Compère's popularity before and after his death is evident from the great number of manuscripts and prints, dispersed all over Western and Central Europe and dating from c. 1475 to after 1540, which contain his works. These include the central codices of the period, whether made for practical use or merely to adorn the library of a high-born personage, as well as the peripheral collections, the representative prints like the *Odhecaton* as well as more modest local productions like the Oeglin Liederbuch. A complete survey of this material is all the more necessary since such investigations are almost completely missing for the Josquin period, although valuable conclusions can be drawn from the chronology of individual groups of works, from areas of stylistic influence and from local repertoires or special traditions. The lack of such studies means that the following summary must be of a provisional and tentative nature. However, there is in the manuscript sources, which obviously predominate over prints in the Josquin period, a clear division into Burgundian (Hapsburg), Italian, German, Spanish and French codices. Within this grouping, the peripheral zones of musical development around 1500, Spain and Germany, are furthermore characterised by their conspicuous selection of stylistically unified groups of compositions from the composer's total output. Similar tendencies in selection, though to a lesser degree, can be seen in part of the Burgundian and Italian sources.

The Burgundian (Hapsburg) Choirbooks

In this group of sources, Compère's sacred music is restricted to a few compositions in correspondingly few manuscripts. Presumably the oldest of these sources is the famous Chigi codex (Rome, Bibl. Vaticana, Chigi C VIII 234) [52], which comes from Flanders and is a splendidly illuminated choirbook from the last quarter of the 15th century. Compère is represented here by the "L'homme armé" mass, the last of four such works which immediately follow each other in the manuscript, and the motet "Sile fragor", the only four-part work in the motet corpus. Apart from this, the popular "Ave Maria", which here follows directly after Ockeghem's "Ave Maria", appears among the motets presumably added later in the part of the manuscript primarily devoted to masses.

the second group sings is an allusion to musica reservata is at least more interesting. This passage and its possibilities seem to have been missed in previous reservata research (cf. B. Meier, 'Reservata-Probleme' in AMl XXX (1958), 77 ff.)

[52] Bibliography (only the most important recent publications, as will be the case for the other manuscripts): H. Besseler, ZfMw XI (1928-29), 10 and MGG II, column 1190 ff.; W. Stephan, *Die burgundisch-neiderländische Motette ...*, 92 f. Incomplete indices in the complete Josquin edition (*Missen*, Bundel XIV, ix) and the

Considering that the motet collection is mainly built up of brilliant occasional works in five or six parts, it is surprising to find a four-part composition there. Still more remarkable, the piece is one of the most forward-looking works written by Compère. With its quite "Italian", cantus-firmus-free structure, it stands out among the older-type Tenor motets of Josquin, Regis, Isaac and Gaspar. The possibility that the work was a later addition to the manuscript cannot be excluded.

Roughly contemporary with Chigi is the ms Vienna, Nationalbibl. S. m. 15495 (*olim* Kunsthist. Museum 5248), probably written for the wedding of the Emperor Maximilian with Bianca Maria Sforza in 1494 [53]. The repertory and the arrangement of the contents shows that this ms is closely related to the Jena choirbooks. It contains Compère's mass "Alles regrets".

The other Burgundian (Hapsburg) manuscripts in which works by Compère are to be found are Jena choirbooks 3 and 20 [54] and Cambrai choirbooks 4 and 18 (*olim* 20) [55] from the early 16th century. Nothing is known of the origins and the history of the Cambrai choirbooks, but their contents and the arrangement of them (predilection for Pierre de la Rue, concordances with the Jena choirbooks) mark them out as belonging to the Burgundian group. By Compère there are the two masses already mentioned and the Magnificat *septimi toni.*

Among all these works only the "L'homme armé" mass and the motets enjoyed greater diffusion, while the mass "Alles regrets" and the Magnificat *septimi toni* are restricted to the Burgundian source-group [56]. The reasons for this division may be found in the style of these compositions. While the "L'homme armé" mass is stylistically very mixed, the two motets with their modern "Italian" characteristics no longer show any links with genuine Burgundian works. On the other hand, the two compositions which only appear in Burgundian sources bear clear marks of their origin, namely poverty of imitation, turgid homophony with a tendency to major, canta-

complete Ockeghem edition (vol. I, xi). A complete index was kindly placed at my disposal by Dr G. Croll.

[53] K. E. Roediger, *Die geistlichen Musikhandschriften der Univ.-Bibl. Jena, Textband,* Jena 1935, 98; L. Hoffmann-Erbrecht, article 'Jenaer Musikhandschriften' in MGG VI, col. 1872 ff.

[54] Roediger and Hoffmann-Erbrecht, passim.

[55] E. de Coussemaker, *Notice sur les collections musicales de la Bibliothèque de Cambrai et des autres villes du Département du Nord. (Mémoires de la Société d'émulation de Cambrai* XVIII, 58 ff. and offprint, Paris, 1843).

[56] The Magnificat also occurs in the ms Bartfa 22 (cf. H. Albrecht, 'Zwei Quellen zur deutschen Musikgeschichte der Reformationszeit' in Mf I (1948), 242 ff.), which is related to the upper Saxony tradition. In this source it has undergone many changes and is in fact quite corrupt, while the attribution to "henricus fingk" is unreliable compared with that in the older and more carefully written choirbook Jena 20.

bile progression in the bass and rounded chanson-like melody [57]. It is probably legitimate to assume that both works were the product of a close acquaintance with the Burgundian tradition and hardly belong to Compère's Italian period.

The Italian sources

Italian manuscripts and prints dating from c. 1480 to 1520 form the largest range of sources for Compère's sacred music. Two groups of manuscripts predominate here, both because of the importance and size of the sources themselves as well as on account of the works to be found in them. These are the three so-called Gafurius codices of the Fabbrica del Duomo, Milan and the manuscripts of the Vatican Library, particularly those of the Capella Sistina.

The three Milanese mss 2267-2269 (Librone 1-3) [58] contain with few exceptions only works by Compère which do not appear in other sources and furthermore reveal local liturgical traits. For this reason one may date these works from the Milan period in Compère's life, although the manuscripts themselves must have been copied somewhat later, probably in the last decade of the 15th century. Thus, as with the Burgundian manuscripts, we come across a case in which a group of works with a style of their own is matched by a series of manuscripts all belonging to a particular district and period.

Of the Vatican manuscripts which contain sacred works by Compère, 5 are from the Capella Sistina and 2 have an uncertain origin. The latter can therefore only be included provisionally in this group.

Codex San Pietro B 80 was extensively if insufficiently treated by Haberl [59], but even today it has not been properly catalogued. The repertory (Dufay, Caron and a corpus of three-part masses) suggests that it should be dated rather early, and in any case before 1480 [60]. The origin of the manuscript can only be conjectured, but names like Egidius Cervelli and Petrus Domarto point to Italy. In keeping with the early dating of this source is the presence of Compère's motet "Omnium

[57] These general stylistic remarks, and those that follow, should be compared with the individual analyses to be found later in the course of this study.

[58] Described in detail (with a few inexactitudes) by K. Jeppesen, 'Die 3 Gafurius-Kodizes der Fabbrica del Duomo Milano' in AMl III (1931), 14 ff.

[59] F. X. Haberl, 'Wilhelm du Fay' in VfMw I (1885), 397 ff., also separately as *Bausteine für Musikgeschichte* I, Leipzig 1885, 75 ff. Also brief indications in J. Daniskas, 'Analytische Studien über die Kompositionstechnik der burgundischen Schule' in *Kongressbericht Utrecht 1952,* 1953, 134 f.

[60] W. Stephan (see note 1), 93 considers the manuscript to be more recent, though without stating his reasons.

bonorum plena", the only work of his in the manuscript and probably his first composition as a mature composer. The solitary discant part-book Pal. Lat. 1982 [61] is probably later and may be dated after 1500. Again, origin and use are uncertain. The predilection for Pierre de la Rue, Mouton, Fevin and Gascongne, together with fairly numerous concordances with Jena, Vienna and 's-Hertogenbosch suggest a Northern origin. Only the Superius of the "L'homme armé" mass is by Compère.

Quite different is the case of the Capella Sistina manuscripts, which were clearly employed by the papal choir. The oldest manuscript containing works by Compère must be Cap. Sist. 15 [62], a codex for practical use divided into three main sections, namely a hymn cycle, a Magnificat corpus and a motet collection of some 40 compositions. The source may be dated before 1500 and its motet section contains a very varied repertory which covers a considerable period of time. It is indeed one of the central sources for motet composition during the Josquin period. The works by Compère are extremely diverse, e.g. the archaic Milan Magnificat *primi toni,* the Tenor motet "Quis numerare queat — Da pacem" and then "Italian" pieces like the motets "Sile fragor", "Propter gravamen" and "Ave Maria". With his six compositions, Compère is the most frequently represented composer in the Magnificat and motet section.

The mass codex Cap. Sist. 35 [63] contains only Compère's "L'homme armé" mass. Since the appendix of motets must have been added by a second copyist between 1492 and 1503 (there is a textual reference to Pope Alexander VI), the principal scribe must have already started work during the reign of Innocent VIII between 1482 and 1492.

Cap. Sist. 42 [64] is an out-and-out motet manuscript arranged according to the ecclesiastical year and datable c. 1507. Although a great number of composers are represented in it, Compère is again one of the most frequently named, coming next after Josquin and Prioris.

Cap. Sist. 44 [65], a Magnificat manuscript with a few motets as an appendix, was written like Codex 42 during the reign of Pope Julius II between 1503 and 1513. Alexander Agricola with three Magnificats is the most frequently named composer, while by Compère there is only the

[61] W. H. Rubsamen, 'Music Research in Italian Libraries, 3rd Instalment' in *Notes,* 2nd series, VIII/1 (1950).

[62] F. X. Haberl, 'Bibliographischer und thematischer Musikkatalog des päpstlichen Kapellarchivs im Vatikan in Rom' in MfM XIX-XX (1887-88), Beilage; and separately as *Bausteine für Musikgeschichte* II, Leipzig 1888, 7. See also Stephan (see note 1), 93 f.

[63] Haberl, *Katalog* ..., 14 ff.; Stephan, 93.

[64] Haberl, *Katalog* ..., 19; Stephan, 95 f.

[65] Haberl, *Katalog* ..., 19.

opening of the Magnificat *sexti toni* II [66]. Even this was later crossed out again.

Cap. Sist. 46 [67], another motet manuscript arranged according to the ecclesiastical year, is undoubtedly the most recent of the Sistina sources which contain compositions by Compère. Stephan's opinion that it contains a repertory of the middle Josquin period, like codex 42, is untenable. Indeed, the extensive collection of works by Carpentras, Adrian (Willaert), Festa, Richafort and de Silva, in spite of a few motets by Ockeghem and Josquin, give the source a quite Italian look. Thus it is not surprising to find only a relatively early but nevertheless quite Italian cantus-firmus-free motet by Compère ("O genitrix gloriosa").

The most important among the other Italian mss which contain works by Compère is the large motet codex Florence, Bibl. Nazionale Centrale II.I.232 (Magl. XIX. 58) [68], which was probably written shortly after 1500. In contrast to Cap. Sist. 46, this source really does contain music of the middle and later Josquin period, the most frequently represented composers being Josquin (12 works), Isaac (11) and Mouton (11). Compère has three compositions in this codex, which all represent a compromise between the Burgundian or Netherlandish tradition and the Italianate qualities sought after by the Netherlandish composers who visited Italy. The titles are "Crux triumphans", "Officium de Cruce" and "Gaude proles regia — Sancta Catherina".

Codex 4 of the Archivio del Duomo in Modena [69] contains works by Fogliano and Verdelot, is certainly of Italian origin and is datable in the first quarter of the 16th century. The primitive decoration of initials with animals' heads brings to mind Cap. Sist. 15. The only work of Compère in this source is the *Missa brevis sine nomine* (anonymous).

Ms Verona, Bibl. del Duomo DCCLVII [70] is again Italian in origin (from a Veronese private collection) and dates from the beginning of the 16th century. The repertory itself is very Italian (Festa, Verdelot, Willaert) and contains Compère's Italianate motet "Ave Maria".

[66] Haberl reads, wrongly, *primi toni*. The anonymous Magnificat *octavi toni*, which follows the Compère fragment, can hardly be by Compère for stylistic reasons.

[67] Haberl, *Katalog* ..., 20; Stephan, 95.

[68] Stephan, 95 f. Copy of the original index in the complete Josquin edition, *Motetten* I.

[69] Rubsamen, 'Music Research ..., 2nd Instalment' in *Notes* VI/4 (1949); complete Josquin edition, *Messen* no. 6. A complete index of the manuscript has not yet been published.

[70] Rubsamen, 'Music Research ..., 1st Instalment' in *Notes* VI/1 (1949); A. Smijers, 'Vijftiende en zestiende eeuwsche Muziekhandschriften en Italie met werken van Nederlandsche Componisten' in *TVer XIV* (1935); Stephan, 95; complete Josquin edition, *Motetten* Bundel VI.

Codex A 17 from the Bibl. del Duomo in Padua [71] is a motet manuscript written in Italy in 1522. Its contents, Richafort, Willaert, L'héritier, Andreas de Silva, Moulu, Verdelot, Carpentras and Festa, already reflect the production of the post-Josquin generation. In keeping with the repertory, only a very late work by Compère, the motet "Paranymphus salutat virginem", appears in this source.

The big collective source Florence, Bibl. Naz. Centr. Panc. 27 [72] is assuredly of Italian origin, owing to the large number of Laude and Frottole which it contains. It was presumably written c. 1500 and has particular significance on account of its early and central position as a source for the cantus-firmus-free motets produced by the Italianised Netherlanders, above all Gaspar van Weerbeke [73]. Apart from a few chansons, Compère is represented by the cantus-firmus-free motet "Propter gravamen".

Turin, Bibl. Naz. Ris. mus. qm III 59 (Ris. mus. I 27) is an upper Italian manuscript written for practical use, probably about 1500 [74]. Its repertory is to a great extent unique. It contains, apart from a few chansons, two Magnificats by Compère (anonymous and very different from the usual versions).

Apart from the manuscripts, Compère is also strongly represented in Italian prints up to c. 1520. Petrucci has a definite predilection for him. In the *Motetti A* (1502) [75] there are 6 works (next highest number to Gaspar), in the *Canti B* (1502), *Motetti B* (1503) and *Motetti C* (1504) one motet each, while the *Fragmenta Missarum* (1505) contain a Credo and a motet and finally the *Motetti de la Corona* (III 1519), after Compère's death, a further work [76]. The selection of compositions reveals a predilection for

[71] Rubsamen, 'Music Research ..., 3rd Instalment'.

[72] *I Codici Panciatichiani della R. Bibl. Naz. Centrale di Firenze,* Rome 1887, I, Fasc. 1, 54 ff. (*Ministerio della pubblica Istruzione, Indici e Cataloghi.* VII), whose index is unreliable; Stephan, 95; Smijers, *op. cit.*; K. Jeppesen, *Die mehrstimmige italienische Laude um 1500,* Copenhagen-Leipzig, 1935, lxiii.

[73] Cf. G. Croll, *Das Motettenwerk Gaspars van Weerbeke,* Göttingen 1954 (unpublished dissertation in typescript), 16.

[74] A note on fol. 38 ("Ex libris Fratris Brixiani Laparelli Religiosi stapharde") points to Brescia or Brixen (Bressanone) and the strophic arrangement of certain Magnificats to Milan. There is no bibliography to this ms, but a thematic index is to be found in the Ludwig Nachlass, Univ.-Bibl., Göttingen.

[75] For all Petrucci prints cf. Cl. Sartori, *Bibliografia delle opere musicali stampate da Ottaviano Petrucci,* Florence 1948.

[76] To these may be added the motet-chansons and chansons in the following prints: 16 works in the *Odhecaton* (1501), 6 in the *Canti B* (1502), 5 in the *Canti C* (1504). With a total of 57 works (including reprints), Compère comes only second to Josquin (69 works) in the Petrucci prints. Cf. A.-M. Bautier-Regnier, 'L'édition musicale italienne et les musiciens d'outremonts au XVIe siècle' in *La Renaissance dans les Provinces du Nord,* Paris 1956, 34.

cantus-firmus-free "Italian"' motets which is certainly not fortuitous. Together with a Credo, there are 2 Tenor motets, 3 works built on a choral and 6 free pieces.

In the prints of other Italian publishers the only work of Compère is the late c.f.-free motet "Paranymphus salutat virginem". Its Altus occurs in a single part-book from an unidentified print of c. 1520 (Bologna, Liceo Musicale R 141, 2) [77], which, like the ms Padua A 17 containing the same work, already reflects the output of the succeeding generation: Mouton, Moulu, Festa, Willaert, Carpentras and Richafort. Apart from Compère, Josquin is the only one of the older masters to be found, again with only one motet.

The German sources

This is the third largest group numerically and from the point of view of the works contained in it. According to their approximate date and repertory, these sources may be grouped as follows:

1. Trent mss (Compère only in *Tr* 91).
2. The big choirbooks and private collections c. 1500: Munich 3154, Berlin 40021, Leipzig 1494 (Apel), Breslau Mf 2016, Annaberg I and II.
3. Walter mss and Rhau prints.
4. St. Gall 463 (Tschudi Liederbuch).
5. Munich 43 (choirbook of the court chapel at Munich).

The ms Trent 91 [78], written in and for Trent c. 1460-80, has a pre-Josquin repertory and hence only contains the musician motet "Omnium bonorum plena" by Compère (cf. also San Pietro B 80). Ms Munich 3154 [70], formerly owned by Magister Nikolaus Leopold of Innsbruck, is closely related to the Trent codices in its earlier pages. A more recent fascicle, which mainly contains Magnificat compositions by Johannes Martini, has a fragment of Compère's Magnificat *sexti toni* II, while his "L'homme armé" mass stands at the beginning of a mass corpus (fasc. 27-28) of similar date, and is here attributed to Josquin. The same Magnificat turns up again

[77] Rubsamen, 'Music Research ..., 3rd Instalment'. This is perhaps a print by Andrea Antico; see F. Lesure, 'Les Anonymes des Recueils du XVI siècle' in *FAM II* (1955), 38.

[78] DTÖ VII, xv; Stephan, 97 f.

[79] Stephan, 99 f.; H. J. Moser, 'Eine Trienter Orgeltabulatur aus Hofhaimers Zeit' in *Festschrift für Guido Adler,* Vienna 1930, 84; A. Dörrer, 'Hundert Innsbrucker Notendrucke aus dem Barock' in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch,* 1939, 245 f.; also see below the analysis of the "L'homme armé" mass. Moser is mistaken in thinking the ms was written in Nuremberg. At most, its many fascicles were assembled and bound there. Equally false is Stephan's opinion that only the first part of the source (fol. 1-178v of the modern foliation) can be dated in the 15th century. Individual fascicles of the second part (nos. 36, 39, 40) are surely as old as the oldest fascicles of the first part, which go back to the more recent Trent period. Dörrer rightly states that our ms

in ms Berlin 40021 [80], apparently from Halberstadt and in any case doubtless an upper Saxon codex. Compère's popular "Ave Maria" also appears in this source. The Magnificat occurs anonymously in ms Leipzig 1494 (the Apel codex), a source which originated in Leipzig some time between 1492 and 1504 [81]. The upper Silesian ms Breslau Mf 2016 [82], which originated at about the same time, contains once again Compère's "Ave Maria" plus his motet "Crux triumphans", which is otherwise not to be found in this source-group.

The rather later Annaberg choirbooks [83] have the "L'homme armé" mass, while the second choirbook also has the Magnificat *sexti toni* II of the Apel-Berlin-Munich group. The literature concerning these mss has often stressed their close connections, and these are confirmed by the selection of Compère compositions:

Mass "L'homme armé"	Annaberg I and II, Munich 3154
Ave Maria	Berlin 40021, Breslau Mf 2016
Magnificat *sexti toni* II	Annaberg II, Apel, Berlin 40021, Munich 3154
Crux triumphans	Breslau Mf 2016

Admittedly it is not surprising that the mass and the "Ave Maria" are also present in German sources, considering how popular they were, but the Magnificat *sexti toni* II hardly occurs at all outside the German source-group. The reason is to be found in its style, for it employs the technique by which the choral is reproduced in long notes in the upper voice, a favourite procedure in Germany.

The next group of sources is still more unified in this respect. The Walter mss and the Rhau prints [84] contain only two very similar works by Compère, "Crux triumphans" and the "Officium de Cruce". The earliest of these sources, Rhau's *Selectae harmoniae* of 1538, unites both works as a cycle. Apart from this, the "Officium de Cruce" occurs again in three Walter mss, namely the two Nuremberg partbooks (N_1 and N_2) and the Berlin choirbook 40013 (B_1), which were all put together between 1539

is a collective source. However, his opinion as to the origin of its fascicles ("viele aus Hofkapellen eingesandte Einzelkompositionen") has to be proved yet.

[80] R. Eitner, 'Codex Mus. Ms. Z 21 der kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin' in MfM XXI (1889), 93 ff.

[81] R. Gerber, article 'Apel' in MGG I, col. 560 ff. The ms was lost in the last war, but a new edition was prepared from the only extant photos of it (vol. I as vol. 32 of the *Erbe deutscher Musik,* 1956).

[82] F. Feldmann, *Der Codex Mf 2016 des Musikalischen Instituts bei der Universität Breslau,* 2 vols., Breslau 1932; *idem,* 'Alte und neue Probleme um Cod. 2016 des Musikalischen Instituts bei der Universität Breslau' in *Festschrift Max Schneider zum achtzigsten Geburtstage,* Leipzig 1955, 49 ff.

[83] H. Albrecht, article 'Annaberger Chorbücher' in MGG I, col. 489 ff.

[84] C. Gerhardt, *Die Torgauer Walter-Handschriften,* Kassel-Basel 1949 (*Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten* 4). Gerhardt's sigla N_1, N_2 and B_1 are used here.

and 1548, long after Compère's death. The ms Zwickau LXXIX/1, which was written by Stephan Roth, belongs on the perimeter of this group since it also contains the "Officium de cruce" (anonymous).

If it is true that both pre-reformation and reformation mss are thus quite uniform in their selection of works, the other German codices must be considered peripheral as far as Compère is concerned. The Aegidius Tschudi Liederbuch, St. Gall 463 [85], was originally a set of partbooks of which only Superius and Altus parts have been preserved. It contains Compère's "Crux triumphans" and the two Tenor motets "Quis numerare queat — Da pacem" and "Virgo celesti". Finally ms Munich Staatsbibliothek Mus. 53 is a collection of Credo compositions written down by one of Ludwig Senfl's copyists for the court choir at Munich [86]. Among 13 pieces by Isaac, 3 by Brumel and 1 by Pierre de la Rue, Compère is represented only by the Credo sine nomine (anonymous).

The Spanish sources

Although there is no evidence that Compère ever visited Spain [87], a surprising number of Spanish sources contain works by him. It is striking to find that these pieces occur in manuscripts with predominantly or exclusively Spanish repertories, while the only source devoted entirely to the Netherlandish repertory (ms Segovia) does not contain a single sacred work by Compère.

The most important of these Compère sources is ms Barcelona, Bibl. Central M 454, a collection of masses, motets and villancicos written in Spain c. 1500 [88]. Apart from Compère, such Netherlanders as Févin, Mouton, Gaspar, Josquin and Brumel are to be found in it, though most works are by Spanish composers or are anonymous. There are four works by Compère, more than by any of the other Netherlanders. Admittedly, three are anonymous ("Ave Maria", "Propter gravamen", "Sile fragor") and the fourth is attributed to Penalosa ("O bone Jesu").

[85] A. Geering, 'Die Vokalmusik in der Schweiz zur Zeit der Reformation' in *SJbMw VI* (1933), 91 f. and 227 ff.

[86] J. J. Maier, *Die musikalischen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München,* Munich 1879, 7.

[87] An indirect connection perhaps existed in the employment of Spanish singers at the court of Milan at the same time as Compère (cf. H. Anglès, *La musica en la Corte de los Reyes Catolicos* I, Madrid 1941, 17 f.). There is also the possibility that Compère had made contact with the court choir at Naples, an important sphere of Spanish influence (see above, Biography, note 24). However this may be, it is certain that the wealth of Spanish sources is most unusual and calls for an explanation.

[88] Anglès, *La musica* ..., 112 ff.

Codex Barcelona, Orfeo Catala 5 [89] contains in its first, 15th century section masses by Josquin, Isaac and Anonymi, while its second, 16th century section consists of Spanish and anonymous compositions. Among the anonymous motets is to be found Compère's "O bone Jesu", which also appears in Barcelona M 454, but the composer is not represented in the Netherlandish mass section.

The same work turns up once again in anonymous form in ms Coimbra 12 [90], a large collection of masses and motets, which, apart from Mouton, does not name any Netherlanders, though numerous Spanish composers are cited. This very Spanish source, which was written c. 1500, thus contains a Netherlandish work by way of exception.

Tarazona, Catedral ms 2 [91] is a 16th century source. The original index names only three Netherlanders each with one work (Periquin, probably Pierre de la Rue, with one mass, Josquin with a motet and Luiseth (Compère) with the "Ave Maria"). All the other composers are of Spanish origin (Escobar, Peñalosa, Anchieta, Morales). The presence of a piece by Compère is thus even more remarkable then in the previous source. The relationship between Netherlandish and Spanish composers is similar in ms Toledo 21 [92]. This choirbook dated 1549 contains a mass movement and a motet by Josquin, together with the "Ave Maria" of Lysset (Compère) once again. All the other compositions are either mass movements or motets and are by Spaniards, in particular Peñalosa and Morales.

The fact that Compère's output is restricted to four sacred works in Spanish sources cannot be a matter of chance. These are the four motets which show more clearly than any others by Compère the influence of Italy, above all by the close relation between text and music in these chordal, pseudo-polyphonic settings. The same stylistic tendencies occur in contemporary Spanish motets [93], and this point of contact probably explains the popularity of these Compère works. Like the Burgundian, Milanese and both German source-groups, the Spanish manuscripts reveal how closely stylistic peculiarities are bound up with the presence of certain works in the sources.

The French sources

The French manuscripts form the smallest and, relatively speaking, the least important group of sources for Compère's sacred works. Purely sacred

[89] *Idem,* 115.

[90] *Idem,* 119 ff.

[91] *Idem,* 122 ff.

[92] Anglès, *La musica* . . ., 130 f.; R. Lenaerts, 'Les Manuscrits polyphoniques de la Bibliothèque de Tolède' in *Kongressbericht Utrecht 1952,* 1953, 279.

[93] Cf. R. Gerber, 'Spanische Hymnensätze um 1500' in AfMw X (1953), 165 ff.

manuscripts from the Josquin period which clearly belong to French and not Burgundian territory hardly seem to have been preserved. Only Chansonniers and mixed sources contain odd motets by Compère. To be sure, in a few cases it is not possible to say whether a manuscript is Burgundian or French.

Four sources only concern us here, namely the miscellaneous codex Cambrai 125-128 (124), the two Chansonniers Paris f. fr. 1597 and Florence Riccardiana 2794, and ms St. Gall 462.

The four partbooks Cambrai 125-128 [94] were owned by an inhabitant of Bruges in the year 1542, and it may be assumed that they were actually written in that locality not long before the date given. Judging by the contents, the date of origin and the format of the manuscript (partbooks instead of a choirbook), it cannot be considered as a Burgundian source in the true sense of the word. It contains masses, motets and chansons of the younger generation (Gombert, Appenzeller, Jannequin, Clemens non Papa, Hollander, Richafort, Willaert) and is based partly on the repertory of the first Attaingnant prints. Of the older generation Josquin is the only composer represented by several motets and chansons, while Compère's motet "Propter gravamen" appears without the composer's name.

The Chansonnier Paris, Bibl. Nat. f. fr. 1597 [95] belonged to a French private owner c. 1500. Together with a few chansons, it contains Compère's motet "Crux triumphans" in anonymous form, strangely enough in the chanson section of the ms and not in the small motet corpus at the beginning.

A rather older source which may be dated before 1500 is the Chansonnier Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana 2794 [96], which was written in France. Apart from a number of mostly anonymous chansons, it includes motets by Dufay, Busnois, Ghizeghem, Ockeghem, Agricola and Compère, among which is the latter's "O genitrix gloriosa" (anonymous).

The ms St. Gall 462 [97], the Liederbuch of Johannes Heer, was compiled in France between 1510 and 1519. Like Cambrai 125-128 it is a miscellany

[94] Coussemaker (see note 55); D. von Bartha, 'Bibliographische Notizen zum Repertoire der Handschrift Cambrai 124 (125-128)' in ZfMw XIII (1930-31), 564 ff.

[95] *Bibliothèque Imperiale — Dépt. des Mss., Catalogue des Mss. français, Tome premiere: ancien fonds. Publ. par ordre de l'Empereur,* Paris 1868, 270a; Stephan, 97, note 67. The ms is a companion source to the fragment f. fr. 1596, one of the mss of Marguérite d'Orleans which is closely related to the Parisian group f. fr. 2245 (the "Compère Chansonnier", see Biography above, note 29) and f. fr. 15123 (the Pixérécourt codex).

[96] Jeppesen, *Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier,* lxv, lxxii; Stephan, 97, note 67; Smijers (see note 70); Rubsamen, 'Music Research ..., 2nd Instalment'.

[97] Geering (see note 85), 186 f., 224 ff.

with mostly anonymous motets, chansons and German Lieder. The first two parts of Compère's "Officium de cruce" occur in it, though otherwise this work only appears in German and Italian sources.

It is impossible to discover any clearly recognizable principle of selection in the French source-group, such as the preference for works written in a particular style. The only important point is that a manuscript like Cambrai 125-128, which was written long after Compère's death, nevertheless contains one of the master's works, even though it is anonymous. The conclusion may be drawn that, in spite of the rapid stylistic development which took place in France around and after 1520, some works of Compère continued to be performed there privately as well as in peripheral regions like Germany and Spain.

Textually and technically the motet-chansons of Compère belong with the chansons, and hence they are to be found exclusively in Chansonniers. Like the motets however, they can be divided into source-groups of local or national type.

The Burgundian mss — Brussels 228, 11239 and Tournai 94 [98], London, Brit. Museum Add. 35087 [99], Bologna Q 17 [100] and Florence Istituto Musicale 2439 (Basevi) [101] — contain only two works by Compère, both of which belong together stylistically and may be placed in the most modern group of motet-chansons composed by this master. These are "Anima mea liquefacta est — Plaine d'ennuy" and "O vos omnes — O devotz cueurs". As with the Burgundian religious sources, here too is a distinct predilection for works of a particular style.

In Petrucci's *Odhecaton* (1501) there are three motet-chansons, none of which appear in the Burgundian manuscripts. One of these pieces also turns up in the upper Italian ms Florence, Panciat. 27.

The ms Florence Bibl. Nazionale XIX 107 bis [102] may be Burgundian but its origin remains uncertain. It contains, besides a few chansons, the motet-chanson "O vos omnes — O devotz cueurs" in anonymous form. Moreover, the same work, once again anonymous but with a different text, occurs in the already mentioned French Chansonnier Paris f. fr. 1597. A

[98] Ch. van den Borren, 'Inventaire des mss. de musique polyphonique qui se trouvent en Belgique' in AMl V (1933), passim.

[99] A. Hughes-Hughes, *Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum* I, London 1906, 262. The ms, according to Hughes-Hughes, was formerly in the possession of Hieronymus Laurinus (Jerome Lauweryn, Treasurer to Philip the Handsome), who died in 1519 (cf. *Biographie nationale de Belgique XI,* 1890-91, col. 457 f.). It is therefore of Burgundian origin.

[100] Jeppesen, *Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier,* lxxiii; Stephan, 97, note 67.

[101] L. de Burbure, *Etude sur un manuscrit du XVIe siècle,* Brussels, 1882.

[102] Smijers (see note 70); DTÖ XVI, 238; complete Obrecht edition, *Motetten* III; complete Josquin edition, *Motetten* III.

further French source (St. Gall 462, see above) contains the motet-chanson "Circumdederunt me — Male bouche", again without attribution.

In contrast to the Burgundian sources, the German ones present a somewhat haphazard selection of works with no unifying traits. St. Gall 463 (see above) includes the obviously popular "O vos omnes — O devotz cueurs" with a wrong attribution to Obrecht, while the same work plus "Circumdederunt me — Male bouche" occur as motets without chanson texts in Georg Rhau's *Tricinia* of 1542 [103].

Generally speaking, Compère's chansons are to be found far more often than his sacred music and turn up in practically all the known chansonniers and miscellaneous mss of the Josquin period. These sources can only be touched on briefly in the present study [104], but again form themselves into national groups.

Mss Brussels 228 and 11238, Tournai 94, London Add. 35087 and Royal 20 A XVI, Florence Istituto Musicale 2439, Bologna Q 17, Dijon and Laborde are Burgundian; Paris f. fr. 1596, 1597, 2245 and 15123, Florence Ricc. 2794, Rome Casanatense 2856 and St. Gall 462 are French; Florence Bibl. Naz. XIX 59, XIX 176 and XIX 178, together with the two Medici mss Cortona and Rome Cap. Giulia XIII 27 are Italian; Segovia is Spanish (though under Burgundian influence); and St. Gall 461 and 463, Regensburg Pernner and Zwickau 78/3 are German. In addition, numerous works of Compère are to be found in the most important chanson prints of the epoch, namely Petrucci's *Odhecaton, Canti B* and *Canti C* (cf. note 76).

Certain chansons, which are not found quite so often, do tend to occur in nationally influenced source-groups, whether Italian, Burgundian or French, so that it is possible to work out when and where these pieces originated. For instance, chansons nos. 1, 6, 11, 15, 18 and 41 of the following inventory appear almost exclusively in Italian, nos. 3, 12 and 20 in French and no. 28 in Burgundian sources. Nevertheless, many chansons turn up again and again, so that they may be found in the most varied source-groups. This again is a further proof of Compère's popularity with his contemporaries and his extraordinary celebrity as a chanson specialist.

III. LIST OF WORKS

The following catalogue cannot claim to be complete, owing to the lack of investigations of source material, and so the author would be grateful for every possible correction or addition.

[103] R. Eitner, *Bibliographie der Musik-Sammelwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1877.

[104] The author is preparing a study of the chanson and its development between the death of Dufay and the advent of Jannequin.

Any indications taken from the secondary literature were checked with the sources themselves, with but few exceptions. The inventory gives for every piece a comprehensive but concise list of sources, first the prints in chronological order and then the manuscripts alphabetically according to the given sigla. Works contained in partbooks do not give the folio numbers of the single books but rather follow the numbering of compositions in the index. If there is no index, the numbering is that of the ms corpus itself.

The inventory comprises only primary sources, but these are treated in the fullest possible detail and completeness. Modern scores, such as London Brit. Mus. Add. 11585, Münster Bibl. Santini 2749 and 2759 and Berlin Staatsbibl. Mus. ms. 30319, which furthermore sometimes contain false attributions, are not considered here.

I am indebted to all the libraries mentioned in the inventory for untiring help, the acquisition of microfilms and much useful information. I am particularly grateful to Madame Geneviève Thibault, Comtesse de Chambure; Professor Charles van den Borren, Professor Rudolf Gerber † and Professor Bruno Stäblein, who were always ready and willing to help with bibliographical matters. Dr Gerhard Croll and Dr Uwe Martin, Göttingen discovered a whole series of concordances in Regensburg and Italian libraries. Special thanks are due to Professor Hans Albrecht, who made available to me photos of the Annaberg choirbooks.

Göttingen

SOURCES CITED AND THEIR SIGLA

I. *Choir- and partbooks*

A. Prints:

AnB	(Anonymous) Bologna Istituto Musicale, R 141. An Alto partbook with no title (see above p. 121).
Eg	(Anonymous) Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Rès. Vm⁷ 504 I-III. Three Superius partbooks without title, place or date. Probably printed by the publisher Christian Egenolff (cf. N. Bridgman, 'Christian Egenolff, Imprimeur de Musique' in *Annales Musicologiques* III, 1955, 77 ff.).
Form	Hieronymus Formschneider, *Trium vocum carmina,* Nuremberg 1538.
Oe	Erhard Oeglin, *Liederbuch,* Augsburg 1512.
Pe	Petreius, *Trium vocum cantiones,* Nuremberg 1541.
Frgm	Petrucci, *Fragmenta Missarum,* Venice 1505.
Mot A	Petrucci, *Motetti A,* Venice 1502.
Mot B	Petrucci, *Motetti de Passione ... B,* Venice 1503.
Mot C	Petrucci, *Motetti C,* Venice 1504.
MotCor III	Petrucci, *Motetti de la corona* III, Fossombrone 1519.
Od	Petrucci, *Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A,* Venice 1501.
Canti B	Petrucci, *Canti B,* Venice 1502.
Canti C	Petrucci, *Canti C,* Venice 1504.
Frot III	Petrucci, *Frottole libro tertio,* Venice 1504.
Frot IV	Petrucci, *Frottole libro quarto,* Venice 1504.
RhS	Rhau, *Selectae harmoniae de passione ...* Wittenbg. 1538.
RhTr	Rhau, *Tricinia,* Wittenberg 1542.
Roth	Rothenbucher, *Diphona amoena et florida,* Nuremberg (Montanus-Neuber) 1549.

B. Manuscripts:

A 1126	Annaberg, Bibliothek der St. Annenkirche, Ms. 1126.
A 1248	Annaberg, Bibl. der St. Annenkirche, Ms. 1248.
Bar 454	Barcelona, Bibl. Central, Ms. 454.
BarOrf 5	Barcelona, Bibl. del Orfeo Catala, Ms. 5.
Bart 22	Budapest, Ungar. Nationalmuseum, Ms. Bartfa 22.
Bas F.X. 1-4	Basel, Universitätsbibl., Ms. F.X. 1-4.
Bas F.X. 5-9	Basel, Universitätsbibl., Ms. F.X. 5-9.
Be 40013	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 40013.
Be 40021	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 40021.
Be 40634	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 40634 (destroyed).
Bol Q 16	Bologna, Conservatorio G. B. Martini, Ms. Q 16.
Bol Q 17	Bologna, Conservatorio G. B. Martini, Ms. Q 17.
Bol Q 18	Bologna, Conservatorio G. B. Martini, Ms. Q 18.
Br	Breslau, Musikalisches Institut, Cod. Mf 2016 (destroyed).
Brux 228	Brussels, Bibl. Royale, Ms. 228.
Brux 11239	Brussels, Bibl. Royale, Ms. 11239.

Ca 4	Cambrai, Bibl. de la ville, Ms. 4.
Ca 18	Cambrai, Bibl. de la ville, Ms. 18 (*olim* 20).
Ca 125-128	Cambrai, Bibl. de la ville, Ms. 125-128 (124).
Cas	Rome, Bibl. Casanatense, Ms. 2856.
CG	Rome, Bibl. Vaticana, Capella Giulia Ms. XIII 27.
Co 12	Coimbra, Bibl. General de la Universidade, Ms. 12.
Cop 1848	Copenhagen, Kgl. Bibliotek, Ny Kgl. Samling, Ms. 2° 1848.
Cort/P	Cortona, Bibl. Comunale, Ms. 95-96; Paris, Bibl. Nationale, Ms. n.a. fr. 1817 (belonging together) S, A and T; B missing.
Dij	Dijon, Bibl. de la ville, Ms. 517 (*olim* 295).
FP 27	Florence, Bibl. Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Panciat. 27.
F 59	Florence, Bibl. Naz. Centr. Ms. Magl. XIX 59.
F 107bis	Florence, Bibl. Naz. Centr. Ms. Magl. XIX 107bis.
F 117	Florence, Bibl. Naz. Centr. Ms. Magl. XIX 117.
F 164-167	Florence, Bibl. Naz. Centr. Ms. Magl. XIX 164-167.
F 178	Florence, Bibl. Naz. Centr. Ms. Magl. XIX 178.
F II. I. 232	Florence, Bibl. Naz. Centr. Ms. II. I. 232 (*olim* Magl. XIX 58).
F 2439	Florence, Istituto Musicale, Ms. 2439 (Cod. Basevi).
F 2441	Florence, Istituto Musicale, Ms. 2441.
F 2442	Florence, Istituto Musicale, Ms. 2442 (3 partbooks, B missing).
F 2794	Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana, Ms. 2794.
Heilbr	Heilbronn, Gymnasial-Bibliothek (Stadtarchiv) Ms. X 2.
Spec	Hradec Králové (Königgrätz), Städtisches Museum, Cod. Specialnik.
Jena 3	Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Mus. 3.
Jena 20	Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Mus. 20.
Jena 31	Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Mus. 31.
Jena 32	Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Mus. 32.
L Apel	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 1494 (Codex of Magister Nikolaus Apel) (destroyed).
L 51	Leipzig, Universitätsbibl., Ms. Thomaskirche 51 (III A α 22-23) (not available at the present time).
Lo Add 11585	London, British Museum, Ms. Add. 11585.
Lo Add 35087	London, British Museum, Ms. Add. 35087.
Lo Eg 3051	London, British Museum, Ms. Egerton 3051.
Lo Royal	London, British Museum, Ms. Royal 20 A XVI.
Mil 2266	Milan, Fabbrica del Duomo, Librone 4 (2266) (burnt but partially restored).
Mil 2267	Milan, Fabbrica del Duomo Librone 3 (2267).
Mil 2268	Milan, Fabbrica del Duomo Librone 2 (2268).
Mil 2269	Milan, Fabbrica del Duomo Librone 1 (2269).
Mod 4	Modena, Archivio del Duomo, Ms. Mus. 4.
MCas	Monte Cassino, Ms. 871.
M 3154	Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl. Mus. Ms. 3154 (Nikolaus Leopold von Innsbruck).
M 53	Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl. Mus. Ms. 53.
Nürnb	Nuremberg, German. Nationalmuseum M 369 m (so-called Luther Codex) (and related Bass partbook).
Pad A 17	Padua, Bibl. del Duomo Ms. A 17.
P 1596	Paris, Bibl. Nationale Ms. f. fr. 1596.
P 1597	Paris, Bibl. Nationale Ms. f. fr. 1597.
P 2245	Paris, Bibl. Nationale Ms. f. fr. 2245.

P 676	Paris, Bibl. Nationale Ms. Rés. Vm⁷ 676.
Pix	Paris, Bibl. Nationale Ms. f. fr. 15123 (Pixérecourt).
(P 1817	s. Cort/P).
Pern	Regensburg, Bibl. des Erzbischöfl. Ordinariats Ms. C 120 (Codex Pernner).
CS 15	Rome, Bibl. Vaticana Capella Sistina Ms. 15.
CS 35	Rome, Bibl. Vaticana Capella Sistina Ms. 35.
CS 42	Rome, Bibl. Vaticana Capella Sistina Ms. 42.
CS 44	Rome, Bibl. Vaticana Capella Sistina Ms. 44.
CS 46	Rome, Bibl. Vaticana Capella Sistina Ms. 46.
Chigi	Rome, Bibl. Vaticana Chigi C VIII 234.
PL	Rome, Bibl. Vaticana Pal. lat. 1982.
SP	Rome, Bibl. Vaticana San Pietro B 80.
SG 461	Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek Ms. 461 (Sicher).
SG 462	Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek Ms. 462 (Heer).
SG 463	Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek Ms. 463 (Tschudi).
Seg	Segovia, Catedral Ms. without shelf-number.
Tar 2	Tarazona, Catedral Ms. 2.
Tol 21	Toledo, Catedral Ms. 21.
Tor	Turin, Bibl. Nazionale Ms. Ris. mus. I 27 (qm III 59).
Tournai	Tournai, Bibl. de la ville Ms. 94.
Tr 91	Trent, Castello del Buon Consiglio Ms. 91.
Ver 757	Verona, Bibl. Capitolare Ms. DCCLVII.
Ver 758	Verona, Bibl. Capitolare Ms. DCCLVIII.
Lab	Washington, Library of Congress Ms. M. 2. 1. L. 25 Case (Chansonnier Laborde).
WW	Washington, Library of Congress Ms. M. 2. 1. M. 6 Case (Chansonnier Wolffheim).
W 15495	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Ms. S.m. 15495 (*olim* Kunsthist. Museum 5248).
Zw 78/3	Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek Ms. 78/3.
Zw 79/1	Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek Ms. 79/1.

II. *Tablatures*

A. Prints:

Att 1531	Attaingnant, *Treize motetz musicaux,* Paris 1531.
New II	Newsidler, *Ein newgeordnet künstlich Lautenbuch* II, Nuremberg 1539.

B. Manuscripts:

Kleber	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Mus. Ms. 40026 (Organ tablature of Kleber).
Sicher	Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek Ms. 530 (Organ tablature of Sicher).

MASSES

1. Alles regrets

4 voc. Ca 4 Nr. 13 anonymous
Jena 3, 73'-90
L 51 "Josquini Alles regres Comparis" (Josquin or Compère?)
W 15495, 47'-63

2. L'homme armé	4	A 1126, pag. 121-136 anonymous, only Kyrie-Credo A 1248, pag. 46-69 "Officium Leo mermer" Be 40634 Nr. 21 destroyed Ca 18 Nr. 6 anonymous Jena 32, 59'-77 M 3154, 264'-273 Josquin Chigi, 227'-240 CS 35, 61'-70 PL, 64'-74' only Superius
3a. Kyrie und Gloria sine nomine	4	Mil 2267, 159'-162 only Gloria with 3b Mod 4, 26'-30 anonymous with 3b
3b. Credo sine nomine	4	Mil 2267, 159'-162 with Gloria from 3a M 53, 174'-182 anonymous Jena 31, 73'-77 as Credo to Josquin's Missa ad fugam, later addition A 1126, pag. 295-298 anonymous
4. Credo "Mon père"	4	Frgm No. 14
I. Dubiplen (Dubiplex?)	4?	Be 40634 No. 12 only A, B; destroyed
II. Sanctus	4?	Mil 2266; burnt

MOTETTI MISSALES

1. Ave Domine Jesu Christe	4-5	Mil 2269, 162'-170
Ave D. J. Chr. verbum patris		loco Introitus
Ave D. J. Chr. laus angelorum		loco Gloria
Ave D. J. Chr. lumen celi		loco Patrem
Ave D. J. Chr. vita dulcis		loco Offertorii
Salve salvator mundi		loco Sanctus
Adoramus te Chr.		ad Elevationem
Parce domine		loco Agnus
Da pacem domine		loco Deo gratias
2. Hodie nobis de virgine	4	Mil 2269, 171'-179
Hodie nobis de virgine		loco Introitus
Beata dei genitrix		loco Gloria
Hodie Chr. nobis natus est		loco Patrem
Genuit puerpera regem		loco Offertorii
Sanctus — Verbum caro factum		
Memento salutis auctor		post Elevationem
Quem vidistis pastores		loco Agnus
O admirabile commertium		loco Deo gratias
3. Missa Galeazescha	5	Mil 2267, 125'-135 anonymous Mil 2269, 143'-149 only 1st, 2nd and 4th motet
Ave virgo gloriosa celi iubar		loco Introitus
Ave salus infirmorum		loco Gloria
Ave decus virginale		loco Patrem
Ave sponsa verbi summi		loco Offertorii

O Maria in superno sita poli	loco Sanctus
Adoramus te Christe	ad Elevationem
Salve mater salvatoris	loco Agnus
Virginis Marie laudes	loco Deo gratias

MOTETS

1.	Ad honorem tuum Christe 2a pars Gaudent in celis	4	CS 42, 15'-18
2.	Asperges me domine	4	Frgm No. 2
3.	Ave Maria gratia plena 2a pars Sancte Michael	4	Mot A, 28'-31 Bar 454, 126'-128 anonymous Be 40021, 206'-208 anonymous Br 93'-95 anonymous, destroyed Mil 2267, 187'-189 Chigi, 140'-142 CS 15, 185'-187 [1] Tar 2, 280'-282 Luiseth Tol 21, 59'-? Lysset Ver 758, 2'-4 anonymous
4.	Crux triumphans 2a pars Jesus nomen dignum	4	Mot A, 8'-10 RhS Nr. 5 with Officium de Cruce Br 147'-148 anonymous, destroyed F II. I. 232, 118'-120 P 1597, 61'-62 anonymous CS 15, 179'-181 anonymous SG 463 pag. 94 only S, A
5.	Gaude proles regia — Sancta Catherina 2a pars O quam dulcis	5	F II. I. 232, 26'-29
6.	In nomine Jesu (Officium de Cruce) 2a p. Adoramus te Chr. 3a Patris sapientia 4a Hora prima ductus est 5a Crucifige clamitant 6a Hora sexta Jesus 7a Hora nona dominus 8a De cruce deponitur 9a Hora completorii	4	Mot B, 46'-55 RhS Nr. 5 with Crux triumphans

[1]) In this source the folio numbers are always the modern stamped numbers at bottom right recto, not the erroneous original foliation.

		Be 40013, 277'-286 anonymous F II. I. 232, 137'-146 Nuremb T 140'-146' anonymous B 97'-103' anonymous SG 462 Nr. 2 (pag. 10-11) anonymous, only 1st and 2nd part Zw 79/1 Nr. 1 anonymous
7. Magnificat primi toni	4	Mil 2269, 10'-17 CS 15, 71'-75 Tor 55'-57 [2] anonymous without Anima mea, alternatim
8. Magnificat quarti toni (only Esurientes)	2	Roth No. 68
9. Magnificat sexti toni I	4	Mil 2269, 21'-23
10. Magnificat sexti toni II	4	A 1126, pag. 596-603 Be 40021, 61-64 anonymous without Anima mea L Apel, 68'-70 anonymous without Anima mea M 3154, 117' only Anima mea and Et exultavit CS 44, 59' only S, T of Anima mea Tor, 47'-49 anonymous without Anima mea
11. Magnificat septimi toni	4	Bart 22 No. 114 only T Henricus fingk Jena 20, 92'-98
12. Magnificat octavi toni (only Esurientes)	3	Pe No. 25
13. O admirabile commertium	4	Mil 2269, 151'-152
14. O bone Jesu	4	MotCor III Nr. 14 Bar 454, 135'-136 Peñalosa BarOrf 5, 69 anonymous Co 12, 190'-191 anonymous [3]
Officium de Cruce	see In nomine Jesu	
15. O genitrix gloriosa 2a pars Ave virgo gloriosa	4	Mot A, 4'-6 anonymous F 2794, 9'-11 anonymous Mil 2267, 51'-52 anonymous, only 1a p.

[2] See note 1.

[3] This motet is also mentioned in the Heidelberg choir inventory (Cod. Pal. germ. 318 of the Heidelberg University Library), part II, letter A. I am indebted to Dr. S. Hermelinck, Heidelberg for this information.

			Mil 2268, 36'-37 anonymous, only 2a p. Mil 2269, 149'-150 anonymous, only 2a p. CS 46, 98'-100
16.	Omnium bonorum plena	4	SP, 27'-30 Tr 91, 33'-35
17.	Paranymphus salutat virginem	4	AnB, 15-15' only A Oe No. 47 anonymous Pad A 17, 112'-113
18.	Profitentes unitatem 2a pars Digne loqui	4	Mot C No. 28 anonymous CS 42, 141'-142
19.	Propter gravamen	4	Mot A, 10'-13 Bar 454, 133'-135 anonymous Ca 125-128 No. 71 anonymous FP 27, 95'-97 CS 15, 193'-196 anonymous
20.	Quis numerare queat — Da pacem 2a pars Audivit ipse 3a pars Fundant preces itali	5	Mot A, 46'-49 CS 15, 196'-199 anonymous SG 463 no. 192 only S, A; T 1a und 3a pars
21.	Sile fragor 2a pars Suscipe domini mater	4	Mot A, 26'-28 Bar 454, 131'-133 anonymous Chigi, 279'-281 anonymous CS 15, 183'-185 Spec, pag. 112-115 anonymous
22.	Sola caret monstris — Fera pessima 2a pars Et retrahit	5	CS 42, 78'-80
23.	Virgo celesti	5	Canti B, 2'-3 SG 463 No. 195 only S, A, T
I.	O post partum munda	4?	Mil 2266; burnt

MOTET-CHANSONS

1.	Anima mea liquefacta est — Plaine d'ennuy	3	Brux 228, 55'-56 anonymous Brux 11239, 27'-28 anonymous Bol Q 17, 6'-7 F 2439, 50'-51 Lo Add 35087, 86'-87

2. Circumdederunt me viri mendaces — Male bouche	3	Od, 51'-52 RhTr No. 41 as a motet, Text O domine libera SG 462, 114'-115 anonymous
3. Corpusque meum — Le corps	3	Od, 72'-73
4. O vos omnes — O devotz cueurs	3	RhTr No. 15 with no chanson text Bol Q 17, 11'-12 with no ch. text Brux 228, 59'-60 anonymous F 107bis, 30'-31 anonymous with no chanson text Lo Add 35087, 1'-2 anonymous with no chanson text P 1597, 28'-29 anonymous as a chanson, text Tant ay d'ennuy SG 463 No. 19 Obrecht, with no chanson text Tournai, 11'-12 anonymous with no chanson text
5. Regina celi — Royne du ciel	3	Od, 91 FP 27, 77'-78 with no Chanson text

CHANSONS [4]

1. Alons fere nos barbes	4	Od, 28'-29 Cop 1848, pag. 2 and pag. 15 anonymous Cort/P No. 11 anonymous F 107bis, 16'-17 anonymous F 164-167 Nr. 65 anonymous SG 463 No. 178 only S, A
2. A qui dirai je ma pensée	3	Canti B, 51'-52 anonymous Eg III No. 21 anonymous, only S Bol Q 16, 15'-16 anonymous Heilbr No. 24 anonymous, only B Cas, 104'-105
3. Au travail suis	3	F 2794, 51'-52 anonymous Cas, 4'-5 Cop 1848, pag. 106 anonymous
4. Beaulté d'amours	3	Seg, 190

[4] The pieces which only appear in Seg are also included in the following list, although the attributions in this source cannot be altogether relied on. Works which are ascribed to Compère in Seg and to other composers elsewhere come under a special heading.

5. Chanter ne puis	3	Canti B, 49'-50 Eg III No. 19 anonymous, only S Heilbr No. 20 only B
6. De les mon getes	4	Cort/P No. 14 anonymous, text Voles oïr une chanson F 164-167 No. 66 anonymous, text as Cort/P CG, 97'-98
7. De trois la plus	3	F 2794, 70'-71
8. Dictes moy toutes	3	Eg III No. 64 anonymous, only S Bol Q 16, 11'-12 anonymous Cop 1848, pag. 137 and 436 anonymous Dij 188'-189 (191'-192 of the new foliation) [5] F 2794, 8'-9 anonymous Heilbr No. 30 anonymous, only B CG, 124'-125 anonymous, text Dictes moy belle Tor, 18' anonymous Lab, 109'-110 anonymous
9. Disant adiu madame	3	Od, 94' anonymous Eg III Nr. 57 anonymous, only S P 2245, 7'-8
10. Et dont revenes vous		Canti B, 32'-33
11. E vray dieu que payne	4	Canti C, 130 Bol Q 17, 71'-72 F 178, 38'-39 Cort/P No. 35 anonymous F 2442 No.? Gaspart CG, 94'-95 anonymous, text Quam diu che pen messé
12. Faisans boutons	3	F 2794, 68'-69 anonymous P 1597, 42'-43 anonymous P 2245, 22'-23
13. Garisses moy		Od, 63'-64 Form No. 53 anonymous Bol Q 18, 90'-91 anonymous SG 461, 48'-49 Seg, 191' Tor, 13'-14 anonymous

[5] N. Bridgman (*Annales Musicologiques* III (1955), 172 f.) considers the piece is anonymous in this source and hence does not ascribe it to Compère. She is in fact wrong in this assumption, as can be seen from S. Morelot, *Notice sur un manuscrit de musique ancienne de la Bibliothèque de Dijon,* Dijon and Paris 1856, 143.

14. Gentil patron	4	F 2442 No. 32
15. In (En) attendant	3	Bol Q 18, 91'-92 anonymous F 59, 225'-226 F 178, 18'-19 anonymous Seg, 185' Tor, 13 anonymous Lab, 111'-112 anonymous
16. J'ay un sion sur la porte	3	P 2245, 24'-25
17. Je ne puis plus	3	Seg, 192 F 178, 54'-55 anonymous, text Je ne puis haver
18. Je suis amie d'un forier	4	Canti B, 14'-15 anonymous Eg I Nr. 21 anonymous, only S Cort/P No. 9 anonymous F 107bis, 11'-12 anonymous F 164-167 No. 64 anonymous CG, 111'-112
19. L'autre jour	4	Canti C, 64'-65 anonymous F 2442 No. 33
20. La saison en est	3	F 178, 26'-27 textless F 2794, 66'-67 Agricola P 1597, 21'-22 anonymous P 2245, 12'-13 Cas, 59'-60 SG 462, 43 anonymous Lab, 142'-143
21. Le grant desir d'aymer	3	Canti B, 55' Eg III Nr. 25 anonymous, only S Cop 1848, pag. 203 anonymous
22. Le renvoy	3	Od, 83'-84 Eg III No. 9 anonymous, only S Bol Q 17, 27'-28 Cop 1848, pag. 90-91 anonymous F 59, 42'-43 anonymous F 178, 30'-31 anonymous F 2794, 53'-54 Cas, 34'-36 Ver 757, 12'-13 anonymous Zw 78/3 No. 15 anonymous

[6] Only the *Odhecaton* attributes this work to Compère, while three sources ascribe it to Pierre de la Rue. Nevertheless, the *Odhecaton* is *the* representative collection of the epoch and hence its attributions carry more weight than the manuscripts in question.

23. Lourdault	4	Canti B, 8'-9 Bas F.X. 1-4 No. 119 Josquin Cort/P No. 6 anonymous P 1597, 56'-57 anonymous Pern, pag. 266-267
24. Mais que ce fust [6]	3	Od, 93 Bol Q 17, 18'-19 Pierquin Cop 1848, pag. 130 anonymous F 59, 218'-219 anonymous F 178, 67'-68 Pictraquin Lo Add 35087, 29'-30 anonymous Cas, 141'-142 anonymous CG, 53'-54 Petrequin, with A si placet, text Donzella no men cul peys Lab, 114' anonymous, only S
25. Me doibt on prendre	3	Od, 50'-51 Eg III No. 52 anonymous, only S Bol Q 18, 87'-88 anonymous Dij, 186'-188 (189'-191 of the new foliation) FP 27, 38'-39 Zw 78/3 No. 14 anonymous
26. Mes pensées	3	Od, 64'-65 Form No. 18 Bol Q 17, 16'-17 F 59, 134'-135 F 178, 56'-57 F 2794, 46'-47 anonymous Lo Royal, 34'-35 Josquin Lo 11585, ?-? Josquin MCas, 134'-135 P 1597, 8'-9 anonymous Pix, 169'-170 CG, 101'-102 anonymous Lab, 106'-108 anonymous Zw 78/3 No. 19 anonymous
27. Mon père m'a donné	4	Canti C, 66'-68 F 2442 No. 34 Seg, 127'-128
28. Ne vous hastem pas	3	F 59, 118'-119 SG 461, 51 anonymous, text Adiu madame
29. Nous sommes de l'ordre	4	Od, 40'-42
30. Pensant au bien	3	P 2245, 10'-12
31. Puisque	3	Seg, 184'

32. Pour estre ou nombre	3	P 2245, 2'-3
33. Reveille toy franc cueur	3	Seg, 178
34. Royne du ciel	4	Canti C, 99'-101 A si placet
35. Sa paine pert qui sert	3	Bol Q 16, 44'-45 F 59 No. 37 anonymous Pix, 122'-123 anonymous
36. Se mieulx ne vient	3	Od, 56'-57 Eg III No. 65 anonymous, only S SG 461, 86'-87 SG 463 (only listed in the index)
37. Si j'ay parlé	3	Cop 1848, pag. 132 anonymous Seg, 178'
38. Se pis ne vient	3	P 2245, 15'-16
39. Sourdes regrets	3	Brux 228, 54'-55 anonymous F 2439, 51'-52 F 117, 36' anonymous, only T, B Tournai, 7'-8
40. Tant ha bon oeul	3	Od, 73'-74 Ver 757, 13'-14 anonymous
41. Un franc archier	4	Od, 30'-31 Bas F.X. 5-9 No. 7 anonymous F 59, 176'-177 anonymous
42. Une plaisante fillette	4	Canti C, 9'-10 Cort/P No. 3 anonymous F 164-167 No. 69 anonymous F 2442 No. 35
43. Va-t-en regret	3	Brux 228, 53'-54 anonymous Cop 1848, pag. 104-105 anonymous F 107bis, 35'-36 anonymous F 117, 33'-34 anonymous P 1596, 2'-3 anonymous P 1597, 13'-14 anonymous P 2245, 9'-10 Tournai, 4'-5
44. Venes regrets	3	Od, 58'-59 Bol Q 17, 31'-32 Cop 1848, pag. 124 anonymous F 117, 31'-32 anonymous SG 462, 86'-87 anonymous, text Alles regrets

			Tournai, 5'-7 anonymous Zw 78/3 No. 16 anonymous
	Volés oïr une chanson	see De les mon getes	
45.	Vostre bargeronette	4	Od, 46'-47 Bol Q 17, 65'-66 F 178, 73'-74 Cort/P No. 7 anonymous CG, 48'-49 anonymous
46.	Virginorette sans sienne	3	Seg, 161
47.	Vive el noble rey	3	Seg, 180 F 117, 13'-14 anonymous
48.	Vous me faites morir	3	P 2245, 20'-21
49.	(Ha traitre amours)	3?	Eg III No. 31 textless, only S [7]

FROTTOLE

1.	Che fa la ramacina	4	Frot IV, 47 Bol Q 17, 62'-63 Cort/P No. 28 anonymous F 164-167, 45'-46 anonymous
2.	Scaramella fa la galla	4	Frot IV, 47'-48 Fir 2439, 16'-17

INTABULATIONS [8]

1.	Ave Maria gratia plena (motet 3)	4	Sicher, 69'-70
2.	Paranymphus (motet 17)	4	Sicher, 106'-107 anonymous
3.	Propter gravamen (motet 19)	4	Sicher, 78'-79

[7] This voice is identical with the S of Stokem's chanson with the same title. Presumably Compère took this voice over as his *cantus prius factus* and composed two or three new voices to it. N. Bridgman however (*Annales Musicologiques* III, 89) believes the attribution is false, and does not consider the possibility of such a procedure. Still, neither case can be proved.

[8] The "Ave Maria" and "Jesum queritis" compositions in Enrico Valderrabano, *Libro de Musica da Vihuela intitulado Silva de Sirenas,* Valladolid 1547, libro II, 10'-11 and 11'-13, are not by Compère. Moreover, the three-part "Je suis amie" in Kleber's tablature, 62'-63, has no connection whatsoever with Compère's chanson of the same name.

4.	O vos omnes — O devotz cueurs (motet-Chanson 4)	3	Att 1531 Kleber, 16-17 anonymous
5.	Lourdault (Chanson 23)	4	Sicher, 94'
6.	Me doibt on prendre (Chanson 25)	3	New II
7.	Mes pensees (Chanson 26)	3	New II
8.	Un franc archier (Chanson 41)	4	Sicher, 69

WORKS OF UNCERTAIN ATTRIBUTION

1.	Ave regina celorum ave	4	Mil 2269, 150'-151 anonymous, but *custodes* (a cross on its side) indicate that this is the second part of the motet "Ave virgo gloriosa", which in its turn is the second part of Compere's "O genitrix gloriosa"
2.	Se non dormi dona	4	Frot III, 53'-54 anonymous F 2441, 34'-35 anonymous, A varied FP 27, 110'-111 anonymous Lo Eg 3051, 40'-41 anonymous P 676, 67'-68 L. C. (these initials, provided they indicate a composer, can scarcely belong to anyone but Compère)

WORKS WITH WRONG ATTRIBUTIONS

1.	Helas [9]	3	Od, 57'-58 Tintoris F 59, 214'-215 anonymous FP 27, 47'-48 Tinctoris Seg, 184 Loysette Compere Zw 78/3 No. 21 anonymous also anonymous in several other sources
2.	Penses vivant [10] (Il n'est vivant)	3	F 178, 11'-13 Alexander, text Il n'est vivant CG, 89'-90 Compere

[9] The fact that Petrucci and one manuscript give the composer's name as Tinctoris, while only the not very reliable ms Seg says the author is Compère, makes it certain that the former attribution is the correct one.

[10] Stylistically this piece is so different from all other Chansons by Compère, while it resembles the songs of Agricola so much, that the latter is obviously the composer of it.

3. Veci la dancha barberits [11]	4	Canti B, 26'-27 Vaqueras Seg, 125'-126 Compere F 107bis, 13'-14 anonymous

[11] Like no. 1, and for the same reasons, this song cannot be by Compère. Seg is too unreliable a source to be of any weight compared with the Petrucci prints.

Further false attributions may be shelved for the same reasons, e.g. "J'ay beau huer" (Agricola) and "Je ne fais plus" (Busnois or Mureau), which are both ascribed to Compère in Seg. There is no such piece as "Ein fröhlich wesen" by Compère (complete Obrecht edition, Lieferung 15-16, xxii and DTÖ XIV/1, 180 and thence in W. Merian, *Die Tabulatur des Organisten Hans Kotter,* 23 and O. A. Baumann, *Das deutsche Lied ... in den frühen Orgeltabulaturen,* 39).

THE MASSES OF ROBERT FAYRFAX *

EDWIN B. WARREN

A. Probable Chronology

Written during the first twenty years of the sixteenth century, the Masses of Fayrfax are not only a chronological link between the Masses of Dunstable and those of Taverner, but they are a very important musical link as well. While only six in number, these Masses represent a completely matured art form, summarizing fifteenth-century English practices and helping to lay the foundation for the entire Tudor period.

As previously stated [1], there is only slight external or internal evidence on the chronology of the Masses. *O quam glorifica,* the Doctoral Mass (1504), is the only one that can be definitely dated. Besides the possibility that *Regali* and *Sponsus amat* were written for Henry VIII's coronation (1509) and marriage to Catherine of Aragon (1510) respectively [2], the only other external clue to the order of the Masses is that *Sponsus amat* does not occur in any of the MS collections containing the other Masses and is, therefore, presumably of later date [3].

Internal evidence leads to contradictory conclusions. The Masses make varying use of both the motto and *cantus firmus* techniques as unifying devices. Whereas both were of long established practice and had developed in parallel stages, the use of a motto probably slightly pre-dates the use of the *cantus firmus.* Of all the Masses of Fayrfax, *O bone Jesu* makes use of the most complete motto, which, of course, does not prove that it was written first, but might lead one to think that Fayrfax may have based his first Mass on early models. *Albanus* has the next most complete motto beginning, followed in successively shorter order by *Tecum principium, Regali,* and *O quam glorifica,* which has the briefest motto. *Sponsus amat,* as nearly as can be determined, does not make use of a motto at all. According to the use of a motto, therefore, *O bone Jesu* is the earliest Mass, *Sponsus amat* the latest.

* *Editor's Note:* This study may be regarded as a stylistic analysis of the material in the first volume of Fayrfax's collected works, published as No. 17 in the series *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* of the American Institute of Musicology.

[1] Edwin B. Warren, "Life and Works of Robert Fayrfax", *Musica Disciplina,* Vol. XI, 1957, 152.

[2] Denis Stevens, "Prime Musician of the Nation", *The Listener,* Vol. LVII, No. 1460, March 21, 1957, 493.

[3] Hughes, "An Introduction to Fayrfax", *Musica Disciplina,* Vol. VI, 1952, 97.

If it can be assumed that the *cantus firmus* technique is slightly later than the motto device, it might also be assumed that the Masses which make the most complete use of a *cantus firmus* may be the latest ones. These would be *O quam glorifica, Regali, Tecum principium,* and *Sponsus amat,* which make use of complete plainsong melodies. *Albanus* uses only a brief motive of a chant, and *O bone Jesu,* none at all. Again it would seem that *O bone Jesu* is the first of the Masses and *Sponsus amat* the last.

Besides the use of the motto and the *cantus firmus* techniques, a third internal clue to the order of the Masses is their texture and use of imitation. From this point of view, *O quam glorifica* would seem to be the earliest Mass, for it reflects an earlier concept of texture and contains the least amount of imitation. The other Masses, according to increasing use of imitation, are *Regali, O bone Jesu, Albanus,* and *Tecum principium.* The three four-part sections of *Sponsus amat* contain less imitation than *Tecum principium,* but they are hardly an adequate basis on which to judge the entire Mass.

Thus, according to these three internal stylistic attributes, the order of the Masses varies:

Use of motto	Use of *cantus firmus*	Use of imitation
O bone Jesu	*O bone Jesu*	*O quam glorifica*
Albanus	*Albanus*	*Regali*
Tecum principium	*O quam glorifica*	*O bone Jesu*
Regali	*Regali*	*Albanus*
O quam glorifica	*Tecum principium*	*Tecum principium*
Sponsus amat	*Sponsus amat*	*Sponsus amat* (?)

Furthermore there is the unique position of *O bone Jesu* as a Parodia mass, which provides an extra reason for setting it at the head of the list. The experiment, like that of *Albanus* in the elaborate manipulation of a thematic subject, would seem to have been given up; and we may perhaps conclude that with his Doctor's exercise, *O quam glorifica,* the master settled down to the practice of writing upon strict tenor themes of liturgical origin [4].

None of this evidence, of course, is conclusive, but all of it, considered and weighed, would lead to the deduction that the probable chronology of the Masses is the order given in the middle column above.

B. Cantus firmus Treatment

The *cantus firmus* is the foundation on which the entire Mass is built, and from which the Mass takes its name. In permeating each movement of the Mass, the *cantus firmus* creates a remarkable sense of unity within each

[4] *Ibid.,* 98.

movements as well as in the Mass as a whole. It occurs in the tenor primarily in the five-voice sections (in the four-voice sections in *Sponsus amat*), where the other voices envelope it with a rich sonority of sound that is more harmonic than contrapuntal in its texture. The function of the *cantus firmus* is, therefore, essentially structural rather than contrapuntal.

Sponsus amat

Found in the Bodleian Library MS Bodley 948 (a *Sarum Antiphoner,* ca. 1400), the plainsong which gives *Sponsus amat* its name belongs to the office for St. Catherine of Alexandria [5].

The chant melody, which is in the sixth mode (Tritus plagius, or Hypolydian) with a flat, is faithfully reproduced in the tenor of each of the existing four-part sections of the Mass. The first of these sections is in the Gloria, where the chant melody is found complete except for the omission of two notes: the "f" in "dulcis" and the penultimate "g". The other two four-part sections are found in the Credo. In the first of these, the tenor again has the complete plainsong with the same two omissions. In the second section, the tenor begins with the second part of the chant, beginning with "Fragrat", again with the omission of the penultimate note. From "cujus" to the end of the section, the tenor ingeniously repeats the first part of the chant melody through "illam". In none of the other Masses does the tenor end a *cantus firmus* section with the opening part of a chant.

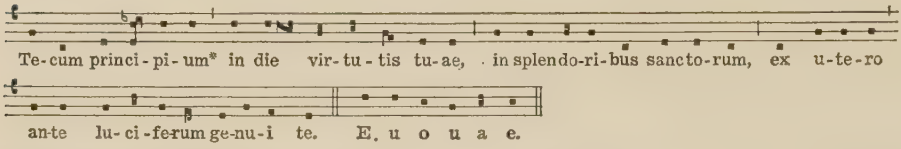
Tecum principium

The *cantus firmus* of *Tecum principium* is an Antiphon which is sung at the second Vespers celebrating "The Nativity of Our Lord". It is found in the Worcester *Antiphonarium,* reproduced in facsimile in the *Paléographie Musicale,* XII, 32-33, and also in the Sarum *Antiphonarium,* facsimile plate 54. The chant is in the first mode (*Protus authentus* or

[5] Stevens, *op. cit.,* 493.

[6] Chant melody supplied by Dom Anselm Hughes, who also lent the present writer his copy of Fellowes's transcription in Tenbury MS 1474. The many corrections which needed to be made in Fellowes's transcription have been effected in the AIM edition of the Masses.

Dorian) and both the Worcester and the Sarum versions make use of the flat before the only "b" in the chant melody. Fayrfax places the flat in the signature, thus changing the mode from Dorian to transposed Aeolian; and he uses the entire chant melody, adding notes to it in much the same way that Ockeghem and other Flemish composers colorated their *cantus firmi*. The details of the use of the *cantus firmus* are given following the chant melody below [7].



Gloria: Et in terra pax

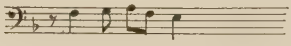
1-3 first five notes of chant melody in introduction to each movement (three voices)

20-39 chant melody complete with following additions:
(1) b-flat inserted between a's "in di-"
(2) b-flat-a-g inserted between "die" and "virtutis"
(3) e inserted between f and c at end of "splendoribus"
(4) d inserted between c and f of "ex utero"
(5) g inserted between two f's of "ante"
(6) d inserted between e and c, end of "luciferum"
(7) e inserted between d and f in "genuite"

40-55 Repetition of complete chant melody as in 20-39, with addition at end: c-d-e-d.

Qui tollis [8]

56-77 (three voices) chant melody complete; inserts between last two notes of chant:



Adds g at end of melody

100-140 Same as 40-55

Credo: Patrem

1-4 First six notes of chant melody (three voices)

21-42 Same as Gloria, 20-39

43-61 Same as Gloria, 20-39; 43-50 for four voices; b-flat not inserted between "in di-"

Et incarnatus est

95-121 (three voices) Same as Gloria, 20-39, with repetitions and longer note values

121-22 extension of *cantus firmus*:

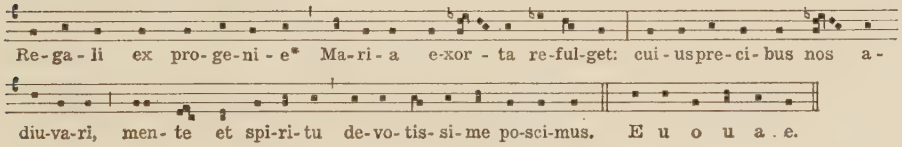
[7] *Liber Usualis* (Tournai, 1947), 412.

[8] The Qui tollis, measures 56-97), in the Bodleian and Peterhouse MSS, makes no use of the chant melody, which might indicate that it is actually not part of the Mass.

124-64	chant melody complete, many repetitions, long note values; adds at end: a-d-e-d.
Sanctus	
1-3	First six notes of *cantus firmus* (three voices)
20-31	chant melody through "tuae"; b-flat not inserted
54-64	completes *cantus firmus*
Benedictus	
87-98	(three voices) *cantus firmus* through "tuae"
124-42	Completes chant melody
142-44	Adds: c-f-e-d.
Agnus Dei I-II	
1-3	First five notes of *cantus firmus* (three voices)
19-27	Chant melody through "tuae"; b-flat not inserted
48-55	*Cantus firmus* completed; adds: c-d-d.
Agnus III	
100-129	Cantus firmus completed g inserted in "ante"; no extension of *cantus firmus*

Regali

Fayrfax's Mass, *Regali,* is based on the Antiphon, "Regali ex progenie", sung at second Vespers celebrating "The Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary". It is found in the *Codex F. 160* of the Library of the Cathedral of Worcester, a monastic antiphonal of the thirteenth century, reproduced in the *Paléographie Musicale,* XII, plate 368, and also in the *Antiphonale Sarisburiense,* Fasciculi XIX-XX, fo. 526. In the Worcester version, no flats appear in the music. The chant is in the sixth mode. In the Salisbury version (reproduced in the *Liber Usualis* on page 1626) the "b" is flatted each time it appears. Fayrfax places the flat in the signature so that the mode of the Mass is actually not Lydian but transposed Ionian. The Antiphon is quoted here [9].



Fayrfax makes use of the entire melody, with a few additional notes, in the Tenor in the five-voice sections. A fragment of the cantus firmus is used once in a three-voice section, and once in a four-voice section. The details of the *cantus firmus* treatment are given in the following outline.

[9] *Ibid.,* 1626.

Gloria: Et in terra pax
- 14-28 Chant melody through "precibus"
- 36-44 Remainder of chant melody

Qui tollis
- 84-125 Complete chant melody; g inserted between "devotissime" and "poscimus"; adds at end: c-f-a-g-f-f.

Credo: Patrem
- 15-19 Chant melody through "precibus"
- 30-41 Remainder of chant melody; 30-34 for three voices; g inserted between a-f of "adjuvari"; ligature d-e-c ("mente") changed to d-f-c; g inserted between last two notes of chant melody.

Et incarnatus est
- 82-125 Entire chant melody; 106-16 for four voices; same insertions as in 30-41; adds f-g-f for "Amen".

Sanctus
- 21-30 Chant melody through "refulget."
- 47-49 Melody of "cujus precibus"
- 51-56 Melody of "nos adjuvari"; g inserted in "adjuvari"

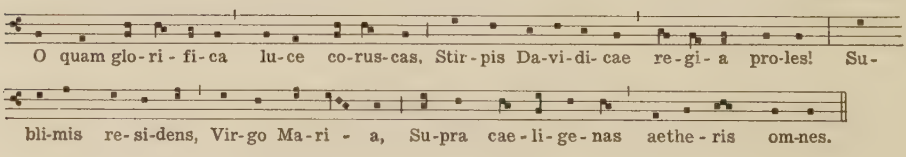
Benedictus
- 119-36 Remainder of chant melody beginning with "mente" Same insertions as before

Agnus Dei I and II
- 18-28 *Cantus firmus* through "refulget"
- 43-49 Chant melody "mente" through "adjuvari"; same insertions as before

Agnus III
- 92-103 Remainder of *cantus firmus* beginning with "mente" Same insertions; f added before ligature end of "devotissime"
- 100-101 Insertion between "devotissime" and "poscimus:"

O quam glorifica

The Mass, *O quam glorifica,* is based on the melody of an "Ancient Hymn" in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary. A search through the *Graduale Romanum* and the Salisbury *Antiphonale* has failed to reveal the source of the chant, but since it is in the *Liber Usualis* [10], it is quoted from that source.


O quam glo-ri-fi-ca lu-ce co-rus-cas, Stir-pis Da-vi-di-cae re-gi-a pro-les! Su-
bli-mis re-si-dens, Vir-go Ma-ri - a, Su-pra cae-li-ge-nas aethe-ris om-nes.

The chant is in the second mode (Protus plagius, or Hypodorian), which Fayrfax changes to Aeolian by placing the flat in the signature. The chant melody is in the Tenor in the five-voice sections only. Fayrfax uses

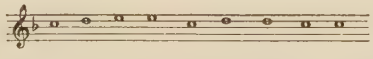
[10] Page 1864.

the *cantus firmus* in three sections: section 1 has the Hymn text, "O quam glorifica luce coruscas", section 2, "Stirpis Davidicae regia proles!", section 3, "Sublimis . . . omnes".

Gloria:	Et in terra pax	
	16-41	Section 1
	54-83	Section 2; "f" inserted in ligature on syllable "re" f-e inserted between last 2 d's
	Qui tollis	Section 3; notes f-e-d inserted between "caeligenas" and "ae-
	130-82	theris"
Credo:	Patrem	
	18-37	Section 1; notes e-d on syllable "fi" omitted
	49-79	Section 2; f inserted as in Gloria; final d omitted, e inserted before penultimate d
	Et incarnatus est	
	140-87	Section 3; d inserted before "aetheris," e between last two d's
Sanctus		
	17-38	Section 1
	68-98	Section 2; same as Gloria, 54-83
	Benedictus	
	164-97	Section 3; repeats f-e at end of "caeligenas;" inserts d before "aetheris," and e between last two d's
Agnus Dei I and II		
	24-44	Section 1
	76-97	Section 2; same as Gloria, 54-83
	Agnus III	
	116-62	Section 3; same as Benedictus, 164-97

Albanus

The Mass, *Albanus* (so named in all the Mss), is based on the theme [11]



which is the opening phrase of the fifth line of *Alloquio dulcis,* a six-lined stanza used as the antiphon for the second Nocturn in the metrical office of St. Alban. The only copy of this office which it has been possible to trace

[11] This motive is found at the beginning of various chant melodies in the sixth mode: the Sanctus from the Missa *De Angelis (Kyriale* [New York, 1927], 29) and the Antiphon, "O quam suavis", which is associated with the first Vespers of the feast of Corpus Christi. The motive is also found with the text, "O Christe pietas", in the Sarum *Antiphonale*, plate 361, and in a modified form at the beginning of the Tract for Septuagesima Sunday. It is also found in "one of the oldest forms of the Kyrie eleison as it appears in the Mass for the Dead from the Sarum Manuale . . . The Introit to the same service" contains the same motive in which "an illusion to the martyrdom of St. Alban may have been intended". (S. Royale Shore, in the *Musical Times,* August 1, 1920, pp. 528-29.)

is that found in the Odense Breviary printed at Lübeck in 1497, without music but the identification is ensured by the use made of the entire fifth line — *Albanus Domini laudans mirabile nomen* — by John Dunstable as the tenor of his [double isorhythmic] motet *Albanus Domini / Quoque ferendus / Albanus,* which is found in the Modena MS. Estense lat. 471 [12]. It is very likely that Fayrfax was acquainted with Dunstable's work.

This six-tone motive permeates the entire Mass. It appears in all the five-voice sections in long and repeated notes, always in the tenor, except in the concluding section, where it occurs in diminution in all the voices. Besides employing the motive in its original form (C D E C D C), Fayrfax uses the motive in a variety of ways: retrograde (C D C E D C), inversion (C B A C B C), retrograde-inversion (C B C A B C), and the original form in diminution. In the Gloria, the motive alternates between the original and retrograde forms, each statement starting on the tone C. The Patrem presents the motive in inversion beginning on the tones C, B-flat, and A. The Et incarnatus est presents the retrograde-inversion of the motive on A, B-flat, C, and one statement of the inverted motive on F, and is thus a retrograde presentation of the Patrem. Three forms of the motive appear in the Sanctus: original and retrograde in the Sanctus, and retrograde-inversion in the Benedictus. Four forms occur in the Agnus Dei: retrograde and retrograde-inversion in the first two invocations, inversion in the third, and the original form in diminution in the "Dona nobis pacem". Fayrfax presents a literal picture of the diminution by writing the motive in small notes. He has thus constructed a very logical form as can be seen in the following outline and chart. In the outline, each appearance of the motive is indicated by measure number. The original form of the motive is indicated by O, retrograde form by R, inverted form by I and retrograde-inversion by RI.

Gloria: Et in terra pax
- 14-22 O on C (C D E C D C)
- 30-37 R on C (C D C E D C)

Qui tollis
- 74-82 O on C
- 83-90 R on C
- 116-22 O on C

[12] Hughes, *Musica Disciplina, op. cit.,* 99. Dunstable's motet is printed in *Denkmaeler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich,* XL. Jahrgang, Band 76 (Wien, 1933), 32-34, and also in *John Dunstable, Complete Works,* edited by Manfred F. Bukofzer [Musica Britannica VIII] (London, 1953), 58.

Credo: Patrem

23-30	I on C (C B A C B C)
31-39	I on B-flat
39-46	I on A

Et incarnatus est

121-26	RI on A (A G A F G A)
126-31	RI on B-flat
132-38	RI on C
138-43	I on F

Sanctus

18-21	O on C
21-24	O on B-flat
24-27	O on A
51-53	R on A
53-55	R on B-flat
56-57	R on C

Benedictus

110-15	RI on C
115-20	RI on B-flat
121-26	RI on A

Agnus Dei I and II

21-23	R on C
23-25	R on D
26-28	R on E
47-49	RI on E
49-51	RI on D
51-53	RI on C

Agnus Dei III

75-78	I on C
79-82	I on B-flat
83-86	I on A

"Dona nobis pacem" (motive in diminution)

87-89	O on C (Tenor)
89-91	O on F (C.tenor, imit. 4th above)
91-93	O on C (Medius, imit. 5th above)
94-96	O on F (Triplex, imit. 4th above)
96-98	O on F (Bass, imit. 2 8ves below)
98-100	O on C (Tenor)
100-02	O on B-flat (Tenor)
103-05	O on A (Tenor)
105-07	O on G (Tenor)
107-09	O on F (Tenor)

In the chart below, the following abbreviations are used: M for movement; ⌐ for section of movement; *CF* for *cantus firmus:* O - original, R - retrograde, I - inversion, $\underline{R}$ - retrograde-inversion, o - original in diminution; IT for initial tone of *cantus firmus.*

M:	Gloria		Credo	
	Et	Qui	Pat.	Et
CF:	OR	ORO	III	RRRI
IT:	CC	CCC	CBbA	ABbCF

M:	Sanctus			Agnus Dei	
	San.	Ben.	I-II	III	Dona
CF:	OOORRR	RRR	RRRRRR	III	o o o o o o o o o o o o
IT:	CBbAABbC	CBbA	CDEEDC	CBbA	CFCFFCBbAGF

These forty statements of the *cantus firmus:* five in the Gloria, seven in the Credo, nine in the Sanctus, and nineteen in the Agnus Dei, create a majestic edifice of magnificent proportions.

O bone Jesu

As previously stated, Fayrfax's *O bone Jesu* is not a *cantus firmus*-Mass, but is, perhaps, the first parody-Mass in English music, being based on the composer's motet, *O bone Jesu.* However, just as the six-tone motive underlies the Mass *Albanus,* the opening Tenor four-note motive, with its variants, permeates all of *O bone Jesu.* A second theme, which grows out of this Tenor motive, is heard three times in the Bass towards the end of three movements: Gloria (95-102), Credo (115-21), and Agnus Dei (101-08). It is a very powerful theme, almost militant in character, which gives a tremendously strong and sturdy mood to the entire Mass.

C. Motto Treatment

In addition to the use of a *cantus firmus* as an important unifying device within and between movements, Fayrfax achieves added unity by the use of a motto-like introduction at the beginning of each of the four main divisions of five of the Masses. *O bone Jesu* has the longest and most complete motto of all the Masses. In addition to a full section, set off by *fermate* and a double bar, which makes a very impressive introduction, each movement of the Mass continues with the same music for two more measures before assuming an independent character. *Albanus* has the next most complete motto. The introductory four measures of each movement, differing only slightly in the use of ligatures and note values, have an unmistakable motto-like character. The opening three measures of each movement of *Tecum principium* is based on the *cantus firmus.* The Tenor, which contains the *cantus firmus,* remains the same in each opening section, but the other voice parts are embellished and varied considerably. The general contour of the line is maintained, however, so that the parts do not lose their motto-like character. The motto introducing each movement of *Regali* consists of two and one-third measures and that of *O quam*

glorifica, only one full measure. In the latter, the upper motive is in the Medius in each movement; the lower motive is in the Contratenor at the beginning of the Gloria and of the Sanctus, and in the Tenor at the beginning of the Credo and of the Agnus Dei. *Sponsus amat,* as nearly as can be determined, does not make use of a motto at all. We know with certainty that the Bass does not take part in a motto introduction, and until the upper voices at the beginning of movments are found, it cannot be stated conclusively whether the Mass contains a motto or not. Thus it can be seen that Fayrfax, in using a *cantus firmus* and/or motto in his Masses, continued the tradition of his English, Burgundian, and Flemish predecessors and contemporaries.

D. Texture and imitation

With the exception of *Sponsus amat,* which, though incomplete, can be assumed to be for four voices, the Masses are for five voices, which are used in various combinations of two, three, and four parts, as well as all together. The texture and color are thus constantly varied. The variety may have been further enhanced in performance, if music for two, three, and four voices was sung by soloists, and that for five was sung by the choir, as perhaps indicated by the practice of the period. In these five Masses, little four-voice music occurs, and that chiefly within the five-voice sections. Almost half of the music is for three voices. Only in the doctoral Mass does five-part writing predominate over three-part writing. Except for occasional rests in the five-part sections of this Mass, none of the music is for four voices. Whereas Fayrfax apparently felt most at ease when writing for three voices, he clearly pointed the way to the establishment of five-part writing, which became the norm later in the century.

Fayrfax shows in his Masses the transition from the Gothic concept of texture attained by the union of independent, often disparate parts, to the Renaissance concept of texture attained through the union of related, interdependent voice lines, in which the harmonic concept somewhat determines the contrapuntal. *O quam glorifica* shows this transition better than do the other Masses. The passages in proportion clearly illustrate the earlier concept of combining lines that are rhythmically wholly unrelated. Cross-accents abound, the voices coinciding only at widely separated points. The polyrhythmic structure of the entire Mass represents the earlier point of view, for, even in the five-part sections, the voices rarely have similar rhythmic patterns. Here, however, the rhythm must be more restrained, and it is in these sections that Fayrfax reveals the later concept of texture. The voices are here related harmonically, the voice parts shifting from one position of the chord to another when a harmony is prolonged for several measures. Because of its polyrhythmic structure, this harmonic (later) concept of texture is not clearly revealed in *O quam glorifica,* but it is in the

other Masses, though these harmonic passages are never very long. The closest that Fayrfax comes to a frankly "familiar" style in writing for five voices can be seen in *Albanus,* Credo, 121-33, and for three voices, also in the same movement, 68-73. Sections such as these are contrasted with others in livelier, more animated rhythms, so that the total texture is always varied. For the most part, the voices have their own related, but different, rhythmic life. Occasionally, two voices parallel each other while the others move in different patterns. Rarely, and then only briefly, will one voice predominate; there is no "prima donna" among the parts. The voices are cooperative yet independent, always in a state of equilibrium and flux.

> The music of Fayrfax is a perfect example of strength through flexibility, for in spite of his academic honours he avoids arid counterpoint and sterile intellectualism, reaching out rather for striking contrasts of texture and long, flowing melodic lines, rich in rhythmic subtleties and mercurial in their movement. He can sustain an apparently simple duet section for minutes on end, yet the musical interest never flags, and when the full choir returns the sonority seems overwhelming [13].

Just as the Masses of Fayrfax reveal the transition from the Gothic to the Renaissance concept of texture, so do they show the change from an attitude of indifference toward imitation to one which considered imitation an essential part of the texture, and an important compositional device. Just as *O quam glorifica* reflects the earlier concept of texture, so does it reflect the earlier attitude toward imitation. The entire Mass contains only twenty-two brief examples of imitation, practically all at the unison, octave, or fifth, and all of a rather tentative character.

Although there are about twice as many examples of imitation in *Regali* as there are in *O quam glorifica,* there seems to be an almost conscious effort to avoid imitation in some of the movements. The majority of imitations are at the octave or fifth, with very few at the fourth, sixth, and third. The motives in the imitations, like those in *O quam glorifica,* are short, but have a little more definite character.

O bone Jesu marks a great advance over *O quam glorifica* and *Regali* in the use of imitation. The entire Mass is based on two motives: one, the Tenor motive of five notes which begins each movement, and two, a motive derived from it by substituting c for a, creating a descending Phrygian tetrachord. Both motives, with variants, are treated in a variety of rhythmic patterns, and at various pitch levels. Most of the imitations are at the octave and fifth, but there are more other intervals than are to be found in the two preceding Masses. The themes are modified, inverted, expanded, and used

[13] Stevens, *op. cit.,* 493.

in *stretto*. The entire Mass is highly integrated in its structure, with the result that a remarkable feeling of unity pervades the whole work.

Albanus is still more highly integrated and unified by means of imitation. Besides the forty statements of the *cantus firmus* motive, which underlie each movement, nearly one-third of the Mass makes use of imitation. As in the preceding Masses, imitations are found chiefly in the three-part sections. Whereas the imitations continue to be mostly at the octave, unison, and fifth, the themes become much longer than in the preceding works. There are many examples of both long, sweeping themes and short, rhythmic motives in close imitation. For examples, see the Credo, 107-11, and the Sanctus, 101-05.

It is in *Tecum principium* that Fayrfax approaches the Flemish ideal of imitation, in consistent usage, in the close overlapping of both long and short motives, and in the employment of imitation at the beginning of practically every section of the Mass. It is the extensive use of imitation that would make feasible the assumption that *Tecum principium,* with the possible exception of *Sponsus amat,* is the last Mass of Fayrfax. The motives take on added length and more definite contour than in the previous works, and sections in canonic style are numerous. For examples, see measures 10-17 of the Gloria, and 67-73 of the Credo. In the latter can be seen a use of augmentation (70-75). Imitations in the three-voice sections continue to predominate; those in the five-voice sections are still brief, the longest passage being the closing six measures of the Benedictus. Intervals other than unisons, octaves, and fifths appear more frequently than in the other Masses. For an example of imitation at the fifth, seventh, and third, see the Sanctus, 10-14, and for an example of imitation that would be worthy of any of Fayrfax's Flemish contemporaries, see the Sanctus, 112-18. Whereas Fayrfax never approximates the magnificent imitative style of his greatest Flemish contemporary, Josquin, it can be said that with Fayrfax the Flemish style is firmly established in England. It was for Fayrfax's younger contemporary, Taverner, to develop the art of imitation further for both structural and expressive purposes.

E. Treatment of the Text

In keeping with most English polyphonic settings of the Ordinary of the Mass through the middle of the sixteenth century, the Masses of Fayrfax lack the Kyrie [14]. They consist, therefore, of four movements. In Lambeth 1

[14] The reason for the omission is usually attributed to the English custom of farsing the Kyrie. (See H. B. Collins, "Latin Church Music by Early English Composers", *Proceedings of the Musical Association* (London, 1913), 56-57; also Hughes,

and Caius 667 MSS, each movement is divided into two distinct sections which Fayrfax evidently considered separate movements in themselves, since the second section invariably begins on a new folio, even when it could have been included with the first section. Thus, the "Qui tollis" is separated from the "Et in terra pax", the "Et incarnatus est" from the "Patrem", the "Benedictus" from the "Sanctus", and the third "Agnus Dei" from the first two invocations.

Another characteristic feature of the English treatment of the Ordinary of the Mass, seen in the works of Fayrfax, is the omission of various parts of the Credo text. These omissions are found as early as Dunstable and as late as Tye (died 1572). Whereas alternate-verse settings and other textual omissions are commonplace in all countries in this period, the omission of parts of the Credo text is, perhaps, more consistently practiced by English than by Continental composers. It is strange that various portions of the Credo text should have been omitted, for it alone, "by virtue of the sanctity of its *ipsissima verba,* had escaped the meddling fingers of the trope-writers of the four preceding centuries" [15].

Various reasons for these deletions have been offered, notably by Dom Anselm Hughes, who suggests that the omissions are due to similar lengths of all the movements of the Mass [16]. This is borne out by even a casual glance at the Masses. In Lambeth and Caius MSS, each Mass has exactly the same number of pages, each section having its own page. The following table will show the unusually uniform number of measures in each section of the six Masses. The number in the left column identifies the Mass according to the order given under A above (middle column). The numbers across the top refer to the sections within each movement; O and C refer to triple and duple time respectively [17].

Musica Disciplina, op. cit., 102). There are no Kyries in the Old Hall MS, and until the middle of the sixteenth century, the Kyrie continued to be omitted in most English Masses, including those of Taverner in the first volume of *Tudor Church Music* (Oxford, 1923) Part I, Vol. I. Notable exceptions are the Mass in B. M. Egerton MS 3307 (see Bertram Schofield, *Musical Quarterly,* Oct., 1946, 509-36; and Manfred Bukofzer, *Musical Quarterly,* Jan., 1947, 38-43, 43-51), "Kyrie Leroy" by Taverner (*Tudor Church Music,* Vol. III), the seven three-part Masses by Ludford (Royal MSS Ap. 45-8, *op. cit.*), three settings of the Kyrie by William Dendy in Lambeth MS 438. After the Reformation, settings of the Kyrie begin to appear more frequently, among the first being the ten English settings in the Bodleian Library Music School MS E 420-22 of about 1546-47.

[15]) Dom Anselm Hughes, "The Text-Omissions in the Creed", *Missa O quam suavis, op. cit.,* viii.

[16] Hughes, *Musica Disciplina, op. cit.,* 102-103; *Music and Letters* V (1924), 152.

[17] The measure numbers for *Sponsus amat* are for the Bass voice, and because of the unreliability of the introductory blocks of rests, are not exact.

	1 O	2 C	1 O	2 C	1 O	2 C	1 O	2 C
I	40	77	41	86	61	84	43	71
II	37	85	46	104	57	69	53	56
III	C O	C O	C O	C O	C O	C O	C O	C O
	83 55	99 68	79 53	108 72	88 59	109 73	96 64	67 45
IV	44	81	41	84	56	80	48	55
V	55	85	61	105	64	80	57	72
VI[17]	36	62	43	68	O C	66	53	44
					34 20			

However uniform in length the movements may be, this does not account for the text omissions, for the Credo movements are amply long enough to have included the entire text had the composer desired to do so. Ruth Hannas explains the omissions on theological grounds [18]. She mentions the telescoped Credos in the Old Hall MS which the present writer would like to explore further as a possible explanation for at least two of the deletions used by Fayrfax.

Most of the deletions occur toward the end of the Credo text: *O bone Jesu* and *Tecum principium* omit the text beginning with "Et in Spiritum" to the final "Amen". *O quam glorifica* and *Sponsus amat* omit beginning with "Et in Spiritum" to the final sentence, "Et vitam venturi saeculi. Amen." *Regali* makes this same omission plus part of the sentence preceding "Et in Spiritum": "Et iterum venturus est . . . Mortuos". *Albanus* omits beginning with "Et in Spiritum" to the next-to-last sentence, "Et exspecto . . ." In addition to these deletions, *O quam glorifica, Regali,* and *Sponsus amat* all omit the fourth sentence, "Deum de Deo, . . . de Deo vero". *Sponsus amat* also omits the sentence beginning "Genitum, non factum" to "Qui propter nos homines, . . ."

The treatment of the Credo text may be explained as an outgrowth of the motet style of Dunstable and his continental contemporaries referred to by Dr. Hannas [19]. Dunstable applied the polytextual style of the motet to the Mass. That is, he telescoped or overlapped different lines of text which are sung simultaneously. The text is, therefore, complete, but not in each voice. In the Credo of Dunstable's Mass in the Trent Codices [20], the text is divided between the two top voices. Both have the same words through "sedet ad dexteram Patris"; the top voice continues "Et iterum venturus" while the middle voice begins "Qui cum Patre". The top voice sings through

[18] Ruth Hannas, "Concerning Deletions in the Polyphonic Mass Credo", *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* Vol. V, No. 3, Fall, 1952, 155-86.

[19] *Ibid.,* 169.

[20] *DTOe* XXXI, 117-19.

"qui ex Patre Filioque procedit", then skips to "Confiteor unum", at which point it is joined by the middle voice, and both continue to the end. The Tenor does not have the Credo text at all; it has its own text, showing the influence of the motet and the trope. The Credo in the Dunstable-Leonellus Mass [21] shows similar text treatment. With one exception, no other Credo settings in the Trent Codices are in motet style. In all, the text is complete in at least the top voice, with the beginnings of lines of text supplied in the lower two; and the text is complete in all three voices in the setting by Ciconia [22]. The exception is the four-voice Credo of Bedingham [23], which employs the telescoped treatment of Dunstable. This is the only example in the Trent Codices of the incomplete Credo text, which might imply that the practice is more English than Continental [24].

An examination of the twenty-eight complete settings of the Credo in the Old Hall MS reveals that all but one have complete texts. Numbers one through nine are in Conductus style, all for three voices, with the text underlaying the Tenor only, but serving the upper two voices as well. Motet style is found in eleven settings (Nos. 10, 11, 12, 14, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28); alternation of lines of text is found in numbers 18 and 26. The other settings have the complete text in one or more voices. The only one that has an incomplete text is No. 28, which omits only three short phrases of text. These could have been omissions of the scribe rather than of the composer, as was doubtless the case in No. 13, which omits the single word "consubstantialem". Except in those in Conductus style, the lowest voice and often the one above it are without text.

Leonel's telescoped motet style (No. 20), which was also used by Swynford and Typp (Nos. 23 and 24), can be seen to be the source of one type of text-omission used by later composers, including Fayrfax, in his Masses *O bone Jesu* and *Tecum principium*. In these three settings of Leonel and his contemporaries, the top voice has the text from the beginning through "non erit finis", while the middle voice has the text from "Et in Spiritum" to the end, simultaneously with the top voice. The Tenor

[21] *Ibid.*, 119 ff.

[22] *Ibid.*, 3-6.

[23] *Ibid.*, 129-31.

[24] The first of the three settings of the Gloria in Dunstable's Mass reveals the same method of telescoping the text. The second Gloria is not in motet style, but it shows the influence of the trope in having four additions to the text. The third Gloria has no textual additions, but the Tenor has the same troped text that the Tenor has in the Credo. The setting of the Sanctus and the Agnus Dei do not make use of the motet style, nor do they show the influence of the trope. Both have the complete text, the Agnus Dei being in three sections, a characteristic of the later treatment by Fayrfax.

has no text. The text in the two above-named Masses by Fayrfax corresponds to that of the top voice in Leonel's, Swynford's, and Typp's settings. Because of the length of the Credo text, Dunstable and his contemporaries no doubt thought it quite right and natural to telescope it according to the current motet form. Later composers, forgetting or not knowing their reasons, may have followed in what they took to be the "classical" or conventional mode of treatment, with the difference that all the voices sang the same text, and thus omitted portions which had been included in the earlier motet-settings.

Except for the traditional omission of the first line of text of the Gloria ("Gloria in excelsis Deo,") and of the Credo ("Credo in unum Deum,"), which were intoned or chanted in plainsong, the texts of the other movements are complete. In the Sanctus, each voice rarely sings "Sanctus" three times: in *Albanus,* each voice sings the word twice; in *Regali,* the Triplex and the Medius each sing "Sanctus" three times, the other voices, only once; in *O quam glorifica,* each voice sings it once, but in *O bone Jesu* and *Tecum principium* (again showing similarities), each voice has the word three times. The Agnus Dei is complete with the three invocations in each Mass, a practice not always followed by later composers. A curious practice is the bringing in of the voice part on the second syllable of a word, to coincide with the text of the other parts at cadence points, as "ctus" in Sanctus.

Fayrfax's Masses present the traditional method of word-setting which appears in all the larger works of this period: long stretches of melody, broken frequently by rests, sung on the vowel sounds of single syllables. This is especially true in the Sanctus and Agnus Dei, but frequently even in the more syllabically-treated Gloria and Credo one finds long melismas on single syllables of text. In *Albanus,* for example, the final syllable of *"sepultus"* is spread over ten and one-half measures. These long, melismatic passages would refute the theory that mere uniformity in length of movements would account for the text deletions in the Credo. Word emphasis is in many case placed on an unaccented syllable, as "mi" in "Domini", "tu" in "mortuos", etc. The practice of "jubilating" through long phrases on a single syllable was, apparently, an inherent part of the expression of religious feeling. The syllables are so clearly spaced in the manuscripts that their placing is unmistakable, and this is evidence that words and syllables were not repeated, even in the repetition of musical phrases. Exactly where to place a fresh syllable seems to have been a matter of comparative indifference. But since the syllables so often coincide in the various voice parts, their placement was obviously intentional, even when placed in the midst of a ligature, which occurs only rarely. If there existed an indifference toward the text, it was so intentionally or at least consciously.

Only rarely is there a seemingly conscious awareness of the text or an

attempt at word-painting. Apparently, the words "Laudamus te" had a special musical significance for Fayrfax, since he set them to similar melodic ideas in each of the Masses, and the word "Jesu" in the Gloria of *Albanus* is set off in sharp contrast to the animated "altissimus" which precedes it. But these are isolated examples. The original *cantus firmi* on which the Masses are based, had seemingly no influence on Fayrfax in text-settings. He was not, on the whole, concerned with the expressive interpretation of the text. The purpose of the text was merely to provide a vehicle for the individual voice parts.

F. Other Aspects of Fayrfax's Style

1. *The Individual Voice Line*

Each voice, except the Cantus of *Sponsus amat* and the Tenor in all but *Albanus,* has a comfortable range of a tenth or eleventh, but the same voice could not sing the Triplex of *O bone Jesu* and *Albanus* unless it had the phenomenal compass of two octaves and a second. A glance at the ranges would lead one to believe that Fayrfax must have had three different groups of singers in mind for the six Masses: a group of low voices for *O bone Jesu,* and a standard group for all but *Albanus,* which requires a group of high voices. While Fayrfax may have written *O bone Jesu* for the deeper voices of the Chapel Royal [25], it is possibly not to be sung at the

pitch represented by the clefs. Omitting the Bass, the clefs for the upper four voices represent one of the "low chiavette", an indication that the music might have been transposed upwards. Likewise, the clefs employed in *Albanus* are one of the "high chiavette", indicating that it might have been

[25] The English Chapel Royal was famous for its deep bass voices. The Venetian

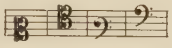
transposed downwards. Concerning the *Albanus* Mass, Collins comments that it is in

> the 13th mode transposed (like Palestrina's Missa Brevis) ... It differs from the Missa Brevis in the higher pitch of the treble and alto parts. For these Fayrfax uses, respectively, the G and C clefs on the first line instead of the second, so that if performed at the present day it would have to be transposed a third lower[26].

Then, in a footnote, he confuses the issue by adding: "In the sixteenth century the Missa Brevis would have been sung a fourth lower than written, the Albanus probably a fifth lower". The perplexing problem of the chiavette has been analyzed in some detail by Mendel[27], who concludes:

> Different clef combinations were undoubtedly often though not always used to imply transposition. Despite generally accepted theory, however, not a shred of evidence has been produced to show transposition was by interval of the third. The transposition frequently implied by the "high chiavette" was down a fourth or fifth. No generalization that such transposition was "always" or "never" implied can be made.

What Glarean said of the "De Profundis" of Josquin, originally notated in the low chiavette:



applies to Fayrfax's *O bone Jesu:*

> But let everyone note with special attention how — with what intensity and gravity — the beginning of the piece represents to us the words "De Profundis", in that those modes are not transposed upwards from their original position, as they usually are, but rather the systems of both modes are included[28].

Glarean interprets low clefs as low compasses. So does Morley[29]. Accepting, for lack of conclusive proof to the contrary, that "any transpo-

ambassador's secretary, Sagudino, in a letter to a friend in Italy, wrote, in 1517: "Mass was sung by His Majesty's choir, whose voices were more divine than human; *non cantavano ma giubilavano;* and as to the counter bass voices, they probably have not their equals in the world." (Davey, *op. cit.,* 101). Referring to the bass part of Redford's motet, "Christus resurgens ex mortuis," for four men's voices, H. B. Collins (*Proceedings of the Musical Association,* 1913, p. 80) observes that a noticeable feature is its deep compass, "written on the F-clef on the fifth line, which contains melodic passages lying between Great A and Contra D. Such voices are not infrequently written for in the sixteenth-century, especially in England."

[26] In *Proceedings of the Musical Association,* 1917, 101.

[27] Arthur Mendel, "Pitch in the Early 16th and 17th Centuries", Parts III and IV, *Musical Quarterly,* 1948, 336-57, 575-78.

[28] *Ibid.,* 357.

[29] *Plaine and Easie Introduction, op. cit.,* 165-66.

sition theory of the "chiavette" can have no application to purely vocal music" [30], we shall assume that *O bone Jesu* lies low in pitch, and *Albanus* lies correspondingly high.

All the voices have approximately the same degree of activity, except the Tenor in *Regali, O quam glorifica,* and *Tecum principium,* where the frequently occuring sustained tones give that voice a temporarily static character. The Contratenor is used most continuously in all the Masses because of its presence in the three-part sections, being associated with the upper two or the lower two voices, or with those on either side of it. Besides the usual intervals of primes (mostly in the Tenor), thirds (often outlining triads and even seventh chords), fourths and fifths (most frequently in the Bass), and octaves (also most frequently in the Bass voice when it leaps up an octave to be above the Tenor in cadences), occasional major and minor sixths and ascending minor sevenths also occur in the melodic lines. One diminished fourth (f-sharp-b-b-flat) is found without the application of *musica ficta* (*Tecum principium,* Sanctus, Medius, 6). The f-sharp ends one "Sanctus"; the b-flat begins the next. The feeling of relationship between the two notes is further weakened by a separating quarter rest, but the interval is present, nonetheless. Two other unusual intervals occur: a descending major ninth, separated by a rest (*Regali,* Credo, Contratenor, 60), and two ascending minor ninths, one separated by a rest (*Tecum principium,* Sanctus, Triplex, 15), the other having no rest (*Regali,* Agnus Dei, Triplex, 40). All of the sevenths are separated by rests. A very striking example of the use of sevenths in imitation and sequence can be seen in *Regali,* Sanctus, 106-08. Virtually all kinds of melodic phrases are found. Besides triad outlines, reminiscent of Dunstable, with and without passing tones, the rarely-found diminished triad in root position occurs (*O bone Jesu,* Sanctus, Bass, 123-24); seventh-chord outlines also occur (*O quam glorifica,* Gloria, Bass, 8) as do successive fourths and fifths in the same direction, and ascending octaves followed by ascending seconds. These unusual melodic progressions occur more frequently in the Masses of Fayrfax than they do in the more "refined" style of the later sixteenth century. Fayrfax thoroughly appreciated the value of melodic repetition and sequence without overdoing either. For good examples, see *Tecum principium,* Gloria, 132-35, Credo, Contratenor, 100-05, Bass, 122-29; *Regali,* Sanctus, 106-08; *O quam glorifica,* Sanctus, Triplex, 62-65, Agnus Dei, Triplex, 17-21, and *Albanus,* Sanctus, Triplex, 61-65.

All types of melodies are to be found. However, one in particular occurs so frequently in all of the Masses, especially in the Triplex or Contratenor when approaching a cadence, that it becomes a definite characteristic of

[30] Mendel, *op. cit.,* 338.

Fayrfax's melodic style. Appearing in slightly different guise, in both duple and triple time, it occurs over and over again:

O quam glorifica, Gloria, Triplex, 16—18

Other melodies range from the familiar-sounding *Regali* theme (Agnus Dei, Bass, 29) and the march-like melody from *O bone Jesu* (Agnus Dei, Bass, 90-93), through the bright "de lumine" and the lyric "Domine Fili" of *O bone Jesu* (Credo, Triplex, 23; Gloria, Tenor, 26-28) to the lovely "omnipotens" and the soaring "qui tollis peccata mundi" of *Albanus* (Gloria, Medius, 22-23, Triplex, 54-59). At times the inner voices are disconcertingly unvocal, with the long, sustained, repeated or instrumental-like notes in the Tenor, and the sudden, unexpected leaps or rests in the other voices. However, on the whole, the voice parts are to a high degree singable. This singability is the result of Fayrfax's innate feeling for a natural flow of melody, producing a typical English lyricism, which permeates his melodic style.

The foregoing illustrations reveal the great rhythmic variety of Fayrfax's music and his most characteristic rhythmic trait, syncopation. He uses it so freely in all the voice parts that it has no particular value as a compositional device for producing special effects. Syncopation is the norm, not the exception, as practically any page of the Masses will show. In triple time, the syncopation often creates the feeling of mixing triple-simple and duple-compound time, so common in the music of Dufay. See, for example, *Tecum principium,* Sanctus, Triplex, 20-21.

With syncopation used so freely, it is not surprising to find it at cadences. The suspension is an important ingredient in the cadence, and this "harmonic syncopation" adds force to the rhythmic syncopation already present in the melodic line. A "slow" syncopation is very common in cadences using the 9-8 and 4-3 suspensions, and a "fast" syncopation, using notes of shorter values, is found over and over again at cadences. See *Tecum principium,* Gloria, Triplex, 111-13; Credo, Medius, 11-12. A sudden slowing down in movement at the cadence is also typical (*Regali,* Credo, Triplex, 15-17). *O quam glorifica* is full of rhythmic complexity; its simultaneous mixture of duple and triple time creates a polyrhythmic texture in which cross-accents between the voices are the norm. These polyrhythms are made more complex through syncopations, which occur almost as frequently as in the other Masses, and are further complicated with frequent passages in proportion.

Another trait of Fayrfax's rhythmic style is a sudden rest, where least expected, causing an abrupt interruption of motion. Beginning a phrase with a rest is very common, creating a syncopated pattern right at the

beginning. Still another rhythmic trait which is part of Fayrfax's practice at cadences, is the dropping out of the Bass on the final chord of the cadence, a practice which is reminiscent of Ockeghem but contrasts with that of Isaac. Fayrfax's rhythms are virile and dynamic. At times they may be angular and almost distorted, but they are rarely dull or flaccid.

2. *Harmonic Style*

a. Consonant sonorities and progressions

The harmonic style of Fayrfax reveals a clear concept of the role of consonance and of dissonance. The distinction between the two is especially clear in the two-part writing, of which the foundation clearly consists of the perfect and imperfect consonances, the fifths and octaves, and thirds and sixths. These are freely used in long successions, often with the rhythmic device of suspension. (See *O quam glorifica,* Credo, Bass, 79-80). The consonant intervals are definitely the basis of two-part writing; seconds, fourths, and sevenths are found in abundance, but always as dissonances.

Consonant harmony is predominant in Fayrfax's music, as shown by the abundance of the triads in it. Of the total number of measures written for three, four, and five voices, nearly 75% of the beats contain complete triads, all three members being actually present, not merely implied. These triads are almost entirely major and minor, the two consonant triads. The dissonant augmented triad is non-existent. Even enlisting the aid of *musica ficta* and non-harmonic tones, only two augmented triads could be fabricated. The diminished triad is almost non-existent: only fourteen actually written; through the application of *musica ficta,* thirty-two more could be added. There are enough accidentals in the manuscripts to make this application of *musica ficta* fairly certain. Not including *O quam glorifica* and *Sponsus amat,* 52.4% of the triads are major, 47% are minor, and the remaining 0.67% are diminished; 12.4% of the major are in first inversion, 16% of the minor, and all but one of the diminished triads are in first inversion. Even in the Aeolian *Tecum principium,* the major triads in root position outnumber the minor; however, as would be expected, the two Masses in minor mode contain more minor than major triads.

It is of interest to note the specific chords found, because they point the way towards an understanding of tonality, a full appreciation of which was still in the distant future. In the two Ionian Masses (on F), the triads occur in the following order of frequency: $\begin{matrix} M & M & m & m & M & m \\ F & C & d & g & B\flat & a \end{matrix}$. The upper letter represents the type of triad, the lower letter the root. These chords exhibit a grasp of some of the ideas basic to a concept of tonality, especially the dominant-tonic relationship of the major triads on F and C, and to a lesser extent of the minor triads on d and g. The emphasis on the subdomi-

nant (B♭) is only slightly smaller than those on the supertonic (g), both of which are of less importance than the submediant (a). The foundation for chord functions in the harmonic sense is laid. The remaining triads are few: majors on E♭, G, D, A; minors on ce and e.

In the Aeolian-mode *Tecum principium* (Final, d), the triads occur in the following order of frequency:

m	*M*	*M*	*M*	*m*	*m*	*M*	*M*	*M*	*m*	*M*	*m*	*m*
d	F	C	B♭	g	a	G	A	D	c	E♭	e	b
330	230	212	185	157	136	36	22	19	11	2	1	1

The order in the Dorian-mode *O bone Jesu* (Final, d) is as follows:

m	*m*	*M*	*M*	*m*	*M*	*M*	*M*	*M*	*m*	*M*
a	d	G	F	e	C	A	B♭	D	g	E
343	235	171	153	131	122	45	42	41	30	13

Until the major dominant emerges as a chord of harmonic importance, the concept of harmony remains essentially modal. The relative importance of the minor and major forms of the dominant chord is made clear from the position of the major and minor triads on A. *O bone Jesu* is more modal than *Tecum principium* in the emphasis on the minor triad on a, but is is also more tonal in the use of the major triad on A. The difference in the use of the two modes of the major and minor triads on G, and the minor triad on e, point to the evidence that the modern concept of minor tonality emerged more from the Dorian than from the Aeolian mode.

Fayrfax's forward-looking harmonic tendencies are manifest in the root movements of his chords: fourths and fifths, 34.22%, seconds, 27.09%, thirds, 24.88%, and primes, 13.81%. The forward-looking tendency is revealed in the emphasis of root movements by fourths and fifths, especially at cadences. The modal concept of chordal progression is still apparent, however, in the frequent root movements by seconds. The repetition of roots is indicative of slow harmonic movement which occurs most often in the five-voice sections. Here Fayrfax delights in great masses of sound. While always keeping the harmony full, he shifts the voices from one position of the chord to another.

Of the descending root movements by seconds, the most typical progressions consist of three chords: $\begin{matrix} M & M & m \\ C & B♭ & a \end{matrix}$ (*Regali,* Credo, 53-54), or $\begin{matrix} m & M & M \\ d & C & B♭ \end{matrix}$ (*Regali,* Gloria, 10-11), The ascending progressions are also short, such as $\begin{matrix} M & m & m \\ F & g & a \end{matrix}$ (*Regali,* Gloria, 30), but occasionally they consist of four or five chords: $\begin{matrix} m & m & M & M & m \\ d & e & F & G & a \end{matrix}$ (*O bone Jesu,* Sanctus, 56). One of the many examples of root movements by thirds occurs in *Regali,* Sanctus, 75.

Perhaps the commonest harmonic progression in the Masses is from a major or minor triad in first inversion to a root-position chord of

the opposite color a third higher, the Bass remaining stationary, as $\frac{M6}{Bb} - \frac{m}{d}$ or $\frac{m6}{g} - \frac{M}{Bb}$. One of three non-harmonic figures is always involved in the progression. The most common figure is the 6-5 suspension (*Regali,* Agnus Dei, 2); passing tone (*Regali,* Agnus Dei, 19-20), and appoggiatura figures (*Tecum principium,* Gloria, 52-53) are less frequent. Since there is no real dissonance involved, the non-harmonic figures are considered part of the harmonic structure, rather than elements of dissonance. However, occasionally, a real dissonance is found in the progression, especially the 4-3 suspension (*Albanus,* Sanctus, 19-20). There are nearly twice as many examples of the minor triad in first inversion moving to the major in root position as there are major triads in first inversion going to the minor in root position. Fayrfax makes such an extensive use of this progression that it becomes a *cliché* of his harmonic style. Another favorite progression is from the major triad on C to the first inversion of the minor triad on g. It is found especially in *Regali,* where examples are numerous (Sanctus, 22, 33-34). One other feature of Fayrfax's harmonic style is his frequent use of *fauxbourdon.* Many successions begin with the open fifth and fourth (*O bone Jesu,* Sanctus, 62-64) and often make use of suspensions (*O bone Jesu,* Credo, 29-30, *Albanus,* Gloria, 47-48). Fayrfax was so imbued with this technique, that he wrote the motet, *O lux beata Trinitas,* as a four-part example of fauxbourdon.

The part-writing is governed by the concept of texture, the voices moving either contrapuntally or harmonically. There are only nine instances of parallel octaves and fifths in all the Masses, and these are of a very harmless nature. The parallel interval never occurs between the outside voices and it is never conspicuous. The part-writing is characterized by the typically English use of cross-relations. The practice of two voices a major third apart, each moving down a minor third to the cadence, accounts for the cross-relation in the majority of instances. Accidentals creating cross-relations are specifically indicated in the manuscripts. (*O quam glorifica,* Credo, Bass, 7, 32; Sanctus, Triplex, 91). The cross-relation, on the other hand, seen in *Tecum principium,* Credo, 142-43, is created by two voices a major third apart each moving *up* a minor third. Other striking examples can be seen in *Albanus,* Gloria, 40-41 and 114-15, where the cross-relation is due to a very bold use of an appoggiatura. The cross-relation between sections is very common. This bi-modal effect is used, apparently, for the sake of color contrast rather than for contrapuntal reasons, forecasting, as it were, the later Venetian practice. For one of many examples, see *Tecum principium,* Credo, 19-20. The later Venetian use of cross-relations can also be seen in *Regali,* Credo, 38-39, and in *O bone Jesu,* Sanctus, 57-58, where a b-natural in the Contratenor descends to a g then up to an a while the Bass g moves up to a b-flat and down to an a. The b-natural in

the Contratenor is perhaps used to avoid the sound of the diminished triad.

Fayrfax's harmonic equipment thus consists almost entirely of the major and minor triads in root position and first inversion. It is triad-harmony in its purest, most consonant sense. This harmony permeates all of Fayrfax's music, for when the triad is not actually complete the missing tones are so strongly implied that the sense of the triad is nonetheless complete. In his desire for harmonic fullness, Fayrfax is in the stream of the best English tradition.

b. Cadence practice

Perhaps nowhere does Fayrfax reveal his style more clearly than in his cadences, which at once look ahead to the later sixteenth century and also back on the fifteenth. Three types of cadences are here distinguished, depending on where they occur: at the end of movements, at the end of sections, followed by a double bar, and within the section. These cadences are called final, sectional, and intermediate, respectively. The first half of each movement ends with such a definite cadence that it is considered final; hence, each Mass contains eight final cadences. Fayrfax's forward-looking tendencies are clearly seen in these cadences, twenty-eight of which are authentic; these include the endings of the three existing four-part sections of *Sponsus amat*. In the following chart, the Arabic numbers represent the endings of the eight sections of the Mass.

Mass	Authentic	Plagal	VI-I	II-I	VII-I	III-I
O bone Jesu	2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8	1	0	0	5	0
Albanus	2, 6, 7, 8	1,4	5	0	0	3
O quam glorifica	1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8	0	0	3	0	0
Regali	2, 3, 4, 5	1, 6, 8	7*	0	0	0
Tecum principium	2, 4, 6, 7	1,8	3	5	0	0
Sponsus amat	3 sections	0	0	0	0	0

* Ambiguous, could also be plagal if the upper neighboring tone in the Triplex is considered part of the chord, in which case the progression could be represented by the Roman numerals VI-IV$_6$-I.

Fayrfax's forward-looking tendencies reveal themselves in the sectional and intermediate cadences as well, with the authentic type accounting for nearly half of the former and nearly one-third of the latter. Of the other sectional cadences, about half are plagal, those remaining being leading-tone cadences, a few represented by VI-I, and one VII$_6$-IV, a striking example of the deceptive cadence (*Albanus,* Sanctus, 10). Of the remaining intermediate cadences, the largest number consists of leading-tone cadences, followed in order by plagal, supertonic, and submediant. The modern deceptive cadence is found frequently and the cadences represented by V-IV and IV-V are found less often. The last-named cadence (IV-V)

occurs surprisingly rarely. It is the great emphasis on the dominant-tonic relationship which marks Fayrfax as being ahead of his time. The cadence had been in use, of course, but not to such an extent.

Another cadential feature marks Fayrfax as being ahead of his time: the completeness of the chords in the final cadences. With one exception (*Albanus,* 5, a complete minor triad), the final chord of each section is a complete major triad. An accidental, if necessary, is supplied in all the manuscripts. In addition, the final chord in the great majority of sectional and intermediate cadences is also complete. When the final triad is incomplete, the fifth is missing more often than is the third, which Fayrfax evidently considered more important in the harmonic structure. Also in the two-voice cadences two roots and a root and a third take precedence over the root and a fifth. Again Fayrfax is satisfying his English desire for harmonic fullness.

Another progressive tendency seen in Fayrfax's cadences is his generous use of the 4-3 and 7-6 suspensions in practically all of the sectional and final cadences, and in many of the intermediate ones as well. About two-thirds of the 4-3 suspensions are in the authentic cadence and about one-third in the two deceptive (V-VI and V-IV) cadences, with a few in the plagal, leading-tone, and VI-I cadences. Of the 7-6 suspensions about half are in the leading-tone cadence, about one-fourth in the plagal, and the remainder in the cadences represented by II_6-1, VII_6-IV, and IV-V. Another cadential device, discussed under dissonance, is the substitute and passing-sixth, which had a far-reaching influence, culminating in the theories of Rameau in the eighteenth century.

One of Fayrfax's conservative cadential tendencies has been referred to: the V-IV deceptive cadence, which is an "earmark" of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century modal practice but which is considered a "backward" progression in later, tonal music. For one of many examples, see *Tecum principium,* Sanctus, 10. Another conservative cadential tendency is his use of the Phrygian cadence, which, characterized by the melodic descending half-step, has a more diversified harmonic treatment in the Masses than it has later in the century. The conservative traits are seen in the last chord, which is minor in all but three instances. It is approached either by the first inversion of a minor triad, the root of which is a whole-step below (*O quam glorifica,* Credo, 106-07, $\overset{m6}{g} - \overset{m}{a}$) or by a major triad in root position, the root being a half-step above (*Albanus,* Sanctus, 57 (final cadence)). This latter progression might be a source of the later "Neapolitan sixth-chord". The progressive traits in the use of the Phrygian cadence can be seen in the three instances referred to above, in which it takes the form of the later IV-V. For one of these, see *O bone Jesu,* Sanctus, 62-63 (final cadence). Most of these cadences, like the others, are complete.

When incomplete, the fifth is missing more often than the third.

Fayrfax's use of the Burgundian cadence is not only conservative, but archaic. The 7-6-8 melodic figure is in the top voice in the majority of cases with the conventional VII_6-I harmonization. The last chord, however, is complete, which keeps it from being completely out-moded. See *Tecum principium,* Gloria, 114-15. The 7-6-8 figure is sometimes in an inner voice but still with the conventional harmonization (*Regali,* Credo, 34-35). However, a transitional type of cadence can be seen evolving out of the Burgundian: the 7-6-8 melodic formula harmonized with major triads a fourth apart. This may be considered as a transitional development from the Burgundian to the later authentic. Such a cadence (7 - 6 - 8) closes the Credo of *O quam glorifica.* For other examples, $\overset{M}{\underset{A}{\quad}}$ $\overset{M}{\underset{D}{\quad}}$ see Bass, 11-12, of the same movement, and *Tecum principium,* Credo, 162.

Two special characteristics in the treatment of the Bass voice in many cadences need to be pointed out: (1) the leap of an octave placing the Bass above the Tenor, which acts as the real bass; and (2) the rhythmic device previously mentioned of the Bass dropping out on the final chord. The first is a continuation of a frequently found characteristic of the Franco-Flemish cadence; the second is a cadence often used by Fayrfax's elder Flemish contemporary, Ockeghem. Of the first device, there are thirteen examples in the Masses, of which the final cadence of *Albanus* is typical. The true Bass, in the harmonic sense, had not yet been firmly established. Indecision as to the function of the Bass is also apparent when it drops out of the cadence, leaving its harmonic function to be fulfilled by the Tenor. This occurs in twenty-three authentic cadences, of which *Albanus,* Sanctus, 115, is a good example. Most of the remaining twenty-three instances occur in the two deceptive (V-VI and V-IV) cadences. *Tecum principium,* Gloria, 107-08, illustrates the former, *Albanus,* Gloria, 84, the latter, in which the omission avoids parallel fifths or octaves. *Tecum principium,* Gloria, 44, is a good illustration of the Bass dropping out of the leading-tone cadence. It is interesting to note that Isaac often used the same rhythmic device, but he omitted the Bass in the penultimate rather than in the final chord [31]. Thus it can be seen that especially in his cadences, Fayrfax is an important musical link between the fifteenth and later sixteenth centuries.

3. *Dissonance*

Consonant harmony in Fayrfax's music being predominant, it is not surprising to find a relatively sparing use of dissonance. But this very fact

[31] Louise Cuyler, *Heinrich Isaac's Choralis Constantinus Book III* (Ann Arbor, 1950), 34.

shows Fayrfax's appreciation of dissonance, for, in music which is for the most part consonant, dissonance becomes all the more effective.

As in most music of the Renaissance on, passing tones occur the most frequently usually off the beat as a passing or relatively accented dissonance, but also occasionally on the beat as a primary dissonance, as in *Regali,* Gloria, 34, 104-05, Agnus Dei, 47-48. As a passing dissonance, the portamento (anticipation) occurs next most frequently, usually as an embellished resolution of a suspension (*Tecum principium,* Gloria, 33-34). It is found rarely as an eighth-note dissonance (*Tecum principium,* Gloria, 134) and never on a note of longer value or as a primary dissonance. Next in frequency as a passing dissonance is the escape tone (*O bone Jesu,* Sanctus, 45); it occurs most often in eighth-note movement in *O bone Jesu,* where examples are numerous (Gloria, 5); for double escape tones see also *Albanus,* Sanctus, 81. Next in frequency is the lower neighboring tone as a sixteenth-note (*Regali,* Sanctus, 7) and the upper neighboring tone as a passing dissonance (*O quam glorifica,* Sanctus, Triplex and Medius, 65). Double upper neighboring tones occasionally create a six-four chord off the beat (*Tecum principium,* Agnus Dei, 64; *O bone Jesu,* Credo, 77, Sanctus, 119), and less often on the beat as a primary dissonance (*Tecum principium,* Agnus Dei, 56). The upper neighboring tone also occurs rather frequently on the beat, creating the effect of the appoggiatura: for three clear examples, see *O bone Jesu,* Agnus Dei, 86-89. For a rare example of the three-note *cambiata,* see *O bone Jesu,* Credo, 77, where it combines with an upper neighboring tone to create the six-four position of the penultimate chord over a pedal point. The six-four chord is always a dissonant structure created by the combination of non-harmonic tones. *O bone Jesu,* Sanctus, 119, shows a six-four chord resulting from an escape tone and a passing tone over a pedal point. The dissonant quality of this six-four chord is heightened by the rest in the Bass, a rhythmic device that is found often. Six-four positions over sustained tones occur frequently at places other than cadence points, especially in the five-voice sections where the Tenor sustains tones of the *cantus firmus.* The later sixteenth-century use of the fourth to create a six-four position on the second half of the first beat, as a preparation of the 4-3 suspension, the so-called "consonant fourth", does not occur in the music of Fayrfax. This represents a later restriction and refinement of dissonance treatment, and one which makes the authentic cadence and the resulting feeling of tonality stronger than they are in the music of Fayrfax.

Of the primary dissonances the suspension is by far the most important, comprising about 70% of all the dissonances that fall on the beat. Fayrfax makes use of all the suspensions, with an overwhelming preference for the 4-3 type, followed in frequency by the 7-6, 9-8, 2-3, 7-8, 2-1, 9-6, 4-5, and

4-3 in the Bass. Whereas the simple resolution is the most often found, there are innumerable examples in all the Masses of embellished resolutions, especially the 4-3-2-3, 4-2-3, and 4-3-4-5-3; 7-6-5-6, 7-6-7-8-6, 7-5-6; 9-8-8, 9-10-8; and 2-4-3. Various combinations of suspensions occur, most often the 4-3 and 7-6, the 9-8 and 7-6, and rarely the three together as triple suspensions. Short chain suspensions are not uncommon, involving two suspensions in succession, usually each a 4-3.

The 4-3 and the 7-6 suspensions are important ingredients of the cadence. They appear in well over half of the sectional and final cadences in the ratio of about three 4-3 suspensions to one 7-6. Two-thirds of the 4-3 suspensions occur in the authentic cadence, the bulk of the remaining one-third in the two deceptive (V-VI, V-IV) cadences. The 7-6 suspension occurs most often in the VII_6-I cadence, as in *Albanus,* Sanctus, 18, which makes use of the earlier device of double leading-tones and incomplete final chord, both of which sound archaic in Fayrfax. The next most-used cadence with the 7-6 suspension is the plagal, in which the 7-6 is combined with the 9-8 (*Regali,* Gloria, 7). The closely related II_6-I (same Bass as in the plagal cadence) ranks next in frequency of the use of the 7-6 suspension (*Albanus,* Sanctus, 50). The Phyrgian (IV-V) and the deceptive VII_6-IV cadences also make some use of the 7-6 suspension. Fayrfax thoroughly appreciated the value of the suspension, and he used it with the skill of the later Renaissance composers.

In comparison with later sixteenth-century composers, Fayrfax made little use of the *nota cambiata.* The rising *cambiata,* found in the music of Dunstable, does not appear in the Masses of Fayrfax, and the three-note form (*O bone Jesu,* Credo, 77) occurs very rarely. It is closely related to the escape tone and to the 4-2-3 (*Regali,* Gloria, 67-68, Credo, 4-5) and 7-5-6 (*Regali,* Sanctus, 64-65) resolutions of the 4-3 and 7-6 suspensions. *Regali,* Sanctus, 109-10 shows the resemblance between the *cambiata* and the 2-4-3 suspension between the upper two voices, creating the six-five chord as it was used later in the century. The melodic outline of the later *cambiata* can be seen in *Regali,* Sanctus, 75, but Fayrfax does not always use it in this way. He often places the dissonance squarely on the beat, as in *Regali,* Sanctus, 90-91, and thus gives the *cambiata* a more diversified treatment than later composers did.

The appoggiatura, which hardly ever appears among the later sixteenth-century dissonances, is used boldly and freely by Fayrfax, especially in *Albanus* and *Tecum principium.* A striking and expressive use of the dissonant fourth as an appoggiatura is seen in *Albanus,* Gloria, 40-41 and 114-15. The deliberate cross-relation is both evident and necessary. The sixth is treated as an appoggiatura very frequently, but it is not always dissonant with another voice (*Albanus,* Credo, 11). When the sixth is dis-

sonant with another voice, it has more of the appoggiatura effect: *Albanus,* Credo, 44-45, Agnus Dei, 51, 88. The concluding ten measures of *Tecum principium* contain ten examples of the appoggiatura, which are used solely for their expressive power. Nowhere is the deliberate use of dissonance for its emotional effect better illustrated than in this concluding section.

Various combinations of dissonances are found, especially those involving the suspension. The most frequent of these combinations can be seen in *O bone Jesu:* 7-6 suspension combined with a relatively accented passing tone (Gloria, 97); an appoggiatura-sixth preparing a 7-6 suspension (Agnus Dei, 13-14); 9-10 suspension combined with an escape tone and primary passing tone (Agnus Dei, 41-42); 7-6 suspension with an escape tone (Agnus Dei, 71); and in *Regali,* Credo, a primary upper neighboring tone combined with an appoggiatura and a relatively accented passing tone. Other examples could be cited, but perhaps these will suffice to illustrate Fayrfax's bold, deliberate use of dissonance for expressive purposes. Such strong dissonances are rarely heard later in the century.

Before leaving the important matter of dissonance, further reference should be made to the substitute and passing sixth in the cadence. The substitute sixth in the final chord of a cadence, taking the place of the chord-fifth, is present in the following forms: the suspension, the upper neighboring tone, the appoggiatura, the passing tone, and the escape tone. As a suspension in the plagal cadence, it is very common (*Regali,* Gloria, 44: final cadence of the first section). The most frequent occurence of the sixth is as an upper neighboring tone (*Regali,* Credo, 29, 14-15 (extended Burgundian cadence), Sanctus, 81-83. The sixth, with the fourth as an upper neighboring tone, creates a six-four chord in the cadence, giving it a strong plagal character, as in the final cadence of the Gloria in *Regali.* The substitute sixth is frequently found as an appoggiatura, both in the final chord of the cadence (*O quam glorifica,* Sanctus, Bass 8-9; *Regali,* Sanctus, 44-45) and in the penultimate chord (*Albanus,* Agnus Dei, 97-98). A striking example of the substitute sixth as a passing tone is seen in the final cadence of the Credo of *Regali,* which contains, also, a substitute-sixth neighboring tone. The Phrygian cadence in *Albanus,* Agnus Dei, 85-86, makes use of the substitute sixth, both as a passing tone and as an upper neighboring tone, and involves a striking cross-relation between a c-natural and written c-sharp. The escape tone and the upper neigboring tone are used simultaneously as substitute sixths in the final cadence of *Albanus.* The substitute sixth strengthens the cadence by adding to it a strong subdominant flavor. This cadential device, found extensively in the technique of Fayrfax, was developed by later composers into the chord of the added sixth.

The passing sixth, a passing tone between the two chords of the plagal cadence, is less frequently found. Good examples can be seen in *Albanus,*

Credo, 76-77; *Regali,* Credo, 17-18; and in *Tecum principium,* Credo, 151-52, Sanctus, 54-55. This sixth, also, is highly prophetic of future trends, for it is the one which developed into the eighteenth-century theories of Rameau as the chord of the added sixth.

Whereas Fayrfax employed dissonance less frequently than did most of his successors, he used it with consummate skill. His treatment of the suspension is on a par with that of later sixteenth-century composers, and his use of the escape tone and appoggiatura is more advanced than that found later in the century. In general, Fayrfax's treatment of dissonance is more varied than that found in the "Golden Age", and it shows that he understood the expressive purpose of dissonance fully as well as did his successors, both in England and on the Continent.

G. Conclusion

Written in the first twenty years of the sixteenth century, the Masses of Fayrfax reveal a style with characteristics that are reminiscent of the fifteenth century, in addition to many that are prophetic of the later Renaissance. In his style of notation [32], the treatment of the text of the Ordinary of the Mass and the underlaying of the words, Fayrfax is conservative to the point of being almost reactionary. He is conservative, too, in his use of the fifteenth-century *cantus firmus* and motto techniques. The earlier three-voice style of Dunstable predominates in the texture, which (except *Sponsus amat*) includes very little four-voice writing, but there is also considerable emphasis on five-voice writing, which is prescient of the late sixteenth century. Whereas *O quam glorifica* reveals the Gothic concept of combination of disparate voice parts, the other Masses show the later concept of juxtaposition of harmonically related voices. Much of the writing is in the earlier equal-voiced style, seen from the similar ranges of many of the voices, but the lowest of these voices also emerges as a true Bass in the later, harmonic sense. The melodic style is characterized by frequent triad outlines and wide leaps, and also by short, rhythmic motives and long, sweeping themes that make much use of repetition and sequence, which strengthens their innate English lyricism that pervades most of the melodic writing. The syncopated, almost distorted rhythms of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries are found in abundance, especially in the three-voice sections; but in the more harmonic five-voice sections, the rhythms are, of necessity, more restrained, though rarely in the so-called "familiar" style.

Fifteenth-century *fauxbourdon* occurs frequently in harmonic progressions made up exclusively of major and minor triads moving on roots a

[32] See the Preface to the writer's *The Masses of Robert Fayrfax, (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 17) published by the American Institute of Musicology.

second apart. The harmonic sense of the music is very strong, as is the feeling for tonality, because of the predominant root-movements by fourths and fifths, especially at cadence points. The complete triad pervades all the music; when the triad is not complete, the fifth is missing more often than is the color-contributing third. In his cadence practice, Fayrfax clearly reveals both his conservative and his progressive tendencies. The older VII_6-I cadence occurs frequently, as do the deceptive, Phrygian, and Burgundian formulae, with the Bass frequently leaping above the Tenor, in the earlier Franco-Flemish manner, and dropping out on the final chord, typical of Ockeghem's cadential practice. However, the prophetic dominant-tonic relationship is found in an overwhelming majority of cadences, the final chord usually being a complete major triad, and most often with the 4-3 or 7-6 suspension.

Sparing use of dissonance, especially of the *nota cambiata,* and occasional harsh, but intentional, clashes (as the parallel sevenths in *Regali,* Credo, 97) reveal a conservative, and, at times, an indifferent attitude toward dissonance. However, the clear distinction between consonance and dissonance; the use of the suspension in all its later manifestations, particularly in cadences; the strengthening of cadences by emphasizing the pedal six-four, and the substitute and passing sixths; the frequent use of escape tones and appoggiaturas, not found later in the century, all evince an advanced concept of dissonance.

O quam glorifica, Regali, and *O bone Jesu* reveal a conservative use of imitation, but *Albanus* and *Tecum principium* (and, as far as can be determined, *Sponsus amat*) illustrate an extensive adoption of the Flemish expedient of imitative counterpoint, which was beginning to infiltrate into English music during Fayrfax's last years. These last three works of Fayrfax are the immediate musical predecessors of the more imitative works of Taverner, which are apparently based upon studied Flemish models.

Thus, Fayrfax is not only a chronological link between Dunstable and Taverner, but a very important musical link as well. He summarized fifteenth-century English practices and helped to lay the foundation for the entire Tudor period. But it is not on this alone that his fame should rest. The music he composed has an intrinsic beauty which should be judged for its own sake. Only actual performance [33] can reveal the beauty and lasting qualities of the music. It merits recognition as a monument of the English Renaissance.

[33] Performances of Fayrfax's music are becoming more frequent. A notable one, according to the present writer's knowledge, was that of the complete Mass, *Tecum principium,* directed by Denis Stevens and broadcast over BBC, Thursday, March 28, 1957.

BIBLIOGRAPHY*
1957

WOLFGANG SCHMIEDER

BOOKS

Bovicelli, Giovanni Battista: Regole passaggi di musica. 1594. Faksimile-Nachdruck hrsg. von Nanie Bridgman. — Kassel, Basel: Bärenreiter 1957. 87 S. (= Documenta musicologica. 1, 12.)

Carrara, Michele: Intavolatura di liuto. 1585. A cura di Benvenuto Disertori. — Firenze: Olschki 1957. 2 Bl., 1 gef. Bl. in Faks. in Mappe. (= Historiae musicae cultores. Biblioteca. 8.)

Draudius, Georg: Verzeichnisse deutscher musikalischer Bücher. 1611 u. 1625. In originalgetreuem Nachdr. hrsg. von Konrad Ameln. — Bonn: Deutscher Musikverleger-Verband 1957. IX S., S. 545-563, 733-759.

Ebner, Adalbert: Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kunstgeschichte des Missale Romanum im Mittelalter. Iter Italicum. (Unveränd. Abdr. der 1896 ersch. Ausg.) — Graz: Akadem. Druckerei u. Verlagsanstalt 1957. X, 487 S.

Expositiones in Micrologum Guidonis Aretini. Ed. Jos. Smits van Waesberghe. — Amsterdam: North-Holland Publ. Comp. 1957. 175 S. (= Musicologica medii aevi. 1.)

Federhofer-Koenigs, Renate: Johannes Oridryus und sein Musiktraktat <Düsseldorf 1557>. — Köln: Volk 1957. 296 S. (= Beiträge zur rheinischen Musikgeschichte. 24.)

Fischer, Kurt von: Studien zur italienischen Musik des Trecento und frühen Quattrocento. — Bern: Haupt 1956. VIII, 132 S. (= Publikationen der schweizerischen musikforschenden Gesellschaft. 2,5.)

Gennrich, Friedrich: Abriss der frankonischen Mensuralnotation. 2. erw. u. verm. Aufl. [Nebst] Übertragungsmaterial. — Darmstadt: Gennrich 1956. (= Musikwissenschaftl. Studienbibliothek. 1. 2.)

Herben, Matthaeus: De natura cantus ac miraculis vocis. Eingel. u. hrsg. von Jos. Smits van Waesberghe. — Köln: Volk 1957. 78 S. (= Beiträge zur rhein. Musikgesschichte. 22.)

Kaff, Ludwig: Mittelalterliche Oster- und Passionsspiele aus Oberösterreich im Spiegel musikwissenschaftlicher Betrachtung. — Linz: Oberösterr. Landesverl. 1956. 68 S., 9 Abb. (= Schriftenreihe des Inst. f. Landeskunde von Oberösterreich. 9.)

Mompellio, Federico: Sigismondo d'India, musicista palermitano. — Milano: Ricordi 1957. 95 S.

* *Editor's Note:* The bibliography in *Musica Disciplina* is now in the hands of Dr. W. Schmieder of the Stadt- und Universitäts-Bibliothek, Frankfurt. The bibliography is no longer classified by country but is unified and arranged in one continuous alphabetical order. The division, however, into groups of Books, Articles, Dissertations, Music, is kept. All countries producing musicological literature are included.

The editor takes this occasion to thank publicly the former collaborators in this bibliography.

Paccagnella, Ermenegildo: Palestrina. Il linguaggio melodico e armonico. — Firenze: Olschki 1957. 126 S. (= Historiae musicae cultores. Biblioteca. 7.)

Parrish, Carl: The notation of medieval music. — New York: Norton 1957. XVII, 228 S.

Roncaglia, Gino: La Capella musicale del Duomo di Modena. — Firenze: Olschki 1957. 327 S. (= Historiae musicae cultores. Biblioteca. 5.)

Smits van Waesberghe, Joseph: De melodien van Hendrik van Veldekes liederen. Rede. — Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitg. Maatsch. 1957. 31 S. (= Musicologica medii aevi. 2.)

Stevens, Denis: Thomas Tomkins. 1572-1656. — London: Macmillan 1957. XI, 204 S.

Vente, Maarten Albert: Proeve van een repertorium van de archivalia betrekking hebbende op het Nederlandse orgel en zijn makers tot omstreeks 1630. — Bruxelles: Palais des Académies 1956. 230 S. (= Académie Royale de Belgique. Mémoires. Cl. des Beaux-arts. Coll. in 8°. 10, 2.)

ARTICLES

Aarburg, Ursula: Muster für die Edition mittelalterlicher Liedmelodien. — In: Die Musikforsschung. 10 (1957), S. 209-217.

Albrecht, Hans: Französische Sammelpublikationen zur Geschichte der Künste in der Renaissance und zur älteren Musikgeschichte. — In: Die Musikforschung. 10 (1957), S. 409-422 u. 547-552.

Ameln, Konrad: Literaturbericht zur Hymnologie. — In: Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie. 3 (1957), S. 217-236.

Apel, Willi: The Central Problem of Gregorian Chant. — In: Journal of the American Musicological Society. 9 (1956), S. 118-127.

— The earliest polyphonic composition and its theoretical background. — In: Revue belge de musicologie. 10 (1956), S. 129-137.

— Imitation in the 13th and 14th centuries. — In: Essays on music in honor of A. Th. Davison. Cambridge, Mass. 1957. S. 25-38.

Apfel, Ernst: Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Palestrinasatzes. — In: Archiv für Musikwissenschaft. 14 (1957), S. 30-45.

Arnold, Denis: Alessandro Grandi, a disciple of Monteverdi. — In: The Musical Quarterly. 43 (1957), S. 171-186.

Bachmann, Werner: Bilddarstellungen der Musik im Rahmen der artes liberales. — In: Kongressbericht Hamburg 1956. S. 46-55.

Barwick, Steven: Puebla's Requiem Choirbook. — In: Essays on music in honor of A. Th. Davison. Cambridge, Mass. 1957. S. 121-127.

Bernet Kempers, K. Ph.: Die Messe "En Espoir" des Jacobus Clemens non Papa. — In: Festschrift Joseph Schmidt-Görg. Bonn 1957. S. 10-20.

Besseler, Heinrich: Das Ergebnis der Diskussion über "Fauxbourdon". — In: Acta Musicologica. 29 (1957), S. 185-188.

Blankenburg, Walter: Die Nachwirkung der artes liberales in den reformatorischen Gebieten und deren Auflösungsprozess. — In: Kongressbericht Hamburg 1956. S. 60-62.

Borren, Charles van den: Une hypothèse concernant le lieu de naissance de Josquin Des Prez. — In: Festschrift Joseph Schmidt-Görg. Bonn 1957. S. 21-25.

Brown, David: William Byrd's 1588 volume. — In: Music and Letters. 38 (1957), S. 371-377.

Brown, Samuel E.: New Evidence of Isomelic Design in Dufay's Isorhythmic Motets. — In: Journal of the American Musicological Society. 10 (1957), S. 7-13.

Bukofzer, Manfred F.: The unidentified tenors in the Ms. La Clayette. — In: Annales Musicologiques. 4 (1956), S. 255-258.

Cardine, Eugène: Il significato della disgregazione terminale del neuma. — In: Fonti e paleografia del canto ambrosiano. Milano 1956. S. 207-249.

Chailley, Jacques: Autour de la messe de Besançon. — In: Acta musicologica. 28 (1956), S. 73-75.

Clark, Willene: A contribution to sources of musica reservata. — In: Revue belge de musicologie. 11 (1957), S. 27-33.

Clercx, Suzanne: Jean de Macque et l'évolution du madrigalisme à la fin du XVIe siècle. — In: Festschrift Joseph Schmidt-Görg. Bonn 1957. S. 66-80.

— Propos sur l'Ars nova. — In: Revue belge de musicologie. 10 (1956), S. 154-160.

Cutts, John P.: A reconsideration of the Willow song. — In: Journal of the American Musicological Society. 10 (1957), S. 14-24.

Dart, Thurston: Lord Herbert of Cherbury's lute-book. — In: Music and Letters. 38 (1957), S. 136-148.

Devoto, Daniel: Poésie et musique dans l'oeuvre des Vihuelistes. <Notes méthodologiques.> — In: Annales Musicologiques. 4 (1956), S. 85-111.

Dittmer, Luther A.: Beiträge zum Studium der Worcester-Fragmente. — In: Die Musikforschung. 10 (1957), S. 29-39.

Eggebrecht, Hans Heinrich: Ars musica. Musikanschauung des Mittelalters und ihre Nachwirkungen. — In: Die Sammlung. 12 (1957), S. 306-322.

— Ein Musiklexikon von Christoph Demantius. — In: Die Musikforschung. 10 (1957), S. 48-61.

Feldmann, Fritz: Musiktheoretiker in eigenen Kompositionen. Untersuchungen am Werk Tinctoris, Adam von Fulda und Nucius. — In: Deutsches Jahrbuch der Musikwissenschaft 1956. 1957. S. 39-65.

Fellerer, Karl Gustav: Zum Musiktraktat des Wilhelm von Hirsau. — In: Festschrift Wilhelm Fischer. Innsbruck 1956. S. 61-70.

Ferand, Ernest T.: Improvised vocal counterpoint in the late renaissance and early baroque. — In: Annales Musicologiques. 4 (1956), S. 129-174.

Finscher, Ludwig: Das Kantional des Georg Weber aus Weissenfels <Erfurt 1588>. — In: Jahrbuch für Liturgik u. Hymnologie. 3 (1957), S. 62-78.

Fornaçon, Siegfried: Melchior Teschner. — In: Musik u. Kirche. 27 (1957), S. 231-235.

Garside, Ch.: The literary evidence for Zwingli's musicianship. — In: Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte. 48 (1957), S. 56-74.

Gombosi, Otto: About organ playing in the divine service circa 1500. — In: Essays on music in honor of A. Th. Davison. Cambridge, Mass. 1957. S. 51-68.

Haigh, Andrew C.: Modal harmony in the music of Palestrina. — In: Essays on music in honor of A. Th. Davison. Cambridge, Mass. 1957. S. 111-120.

Harder, Hanna: Neue Fragmente mehrstimmiger Musik aus spanischen Bibliotheken. — In: Festschrift Joseph Schmidt-Görg. Bonn 1957. S. 131-141 u. XIV Taf.

Hewitt, Helen: A study in proportions. — In: Essays on music in honor of A. Th. Davison. Cambridge, Mass. 1957. S. 69-81.

Hibberd, Lloyd: Giraldus Cambrensis on Welsh popular singing. — In: Essays on music in honor of A. Th. Davison. Cambridge, Mass. 1957. S. 17-23.

Hickmann, Hans: Ein Beitrag "zum Problem des Ursprungs der mittelalterlichen Solmisation". — In: Die Musikforschung. 10 (1957), S. 403-404.

Hoffmann-Erbrecht, Lothar: Die Rostocker Praetorius-Handschrift <1566>. Zusammenfassung. — In: Kongressbericht Hamburg 1956. S. 112-113.

Hoffmann-Erbrecht, Lothar: Thomas Stoltzers geistliche Kompositionen. — In: Musik und Altar. 10 (1957), S. 69-77.
— Thomas Stoltzers "Octo Tonorum Melodiae". — In: Archiv für Musikwissenschaft. 14 (1957), S. 16-29.
Hoppin, Richard H.: Conflicting signatures reviewed. — In: Journal of the American Musicological Society. 9 (1956), S. 97-117.
— A 15th-century "Christmas oratorio". — In: Essays on music in honor of A. Th. Davison. Cambridge, Mass. 1957. S. 41-49.
— Some remarks à propos of "Pic". — In: Revue belge de musicologie. 10 (1956), S. 105-111.
Hucke, Helmut: Die gregorianische Gradualweise des 2. Tons und ihre ambrosianischen Parallelen. Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung des Ambrosianischen Gesanges. — In: Archiv für Musikwissenschaft. 13 (1956), S. 285-314.
Hüschen, Heinrich: Die Musik im Kreise der artes liberales. — In: Kongressbericht Hamburg 1956. S. 117-123.
Huglo, Michel: Le tonaire de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon <Montpellier H. 159>. — In: Annales Musicologiques. 4 (1956), S. 7-18.
Husmann, Heinrich: Alleluia, Vers und Sequenz. — In: Annales Musicologiques. 4 (1956), S. 19-53.
— Iustus ut palma. Alleluia und Sequenzen in St. Gallen und St. Martial. — In: Revue belge de musicologie. 10 (1956), S. 112-128.
— Kritisches zu einigen Problemen der mittelalterlichen Musik und der Tonpsychologie. — In: Die Musikforschung. 10 (1957), S. 291-295.
Jackson, Roland: Musical interrelations between 14th century mass movements. <A preliminary study.> — In: Acta musicologica. 29 (1957), S. 54-64.
Jammers, Ewald: Hugo von Montforts Liederhandschrift <Cod. Pal. germ. 329 der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg.> — In: Ruperto Carola. 9 (1957), S. 1-8.
— Interpretationsfragen mittelalterlicher Musik. — In: Archiv für Musikwissenschaft. 14 (1957), S. 230-252.
Irtenkauf, Wolfgang: Die Alleluja-Tropierungen der Weingartner Handschriften. — In: Festschrift zur 900-Jahrfeier des Klosters Weingarten. 1956. S. 345-361.
— Choral und Choralforschung in unserer Zeit. — In: Neue Zeitschrift für Musik. 117 (1956), S. 79-82.
— Der Computus ecclesiasticus in der Einstimmigkeit des Mittelalters. — In: Archiv für Musikwissenschaft. 14 (1957), S. 1-15.
— Einige Ergänzungen zu den lateinischen Liedern des Wienhäuser Liederbuchs <1470-1480>. — In: Die Musikforschung. 10 (1957), S. 217-225.
— Die Weihnachtskomplet im Jahre 1345 in Seckau. — In: Die Musikforschung. 9 (1956), S. 257-262.
Kinkeldey, Otto: Equal voices in the A cappella period. — In: Essays on music in honor of A. Th. Davison. Cambridge, Mass. 1957. S. 101-109.
Klinkenberg, Hans Martin: Der Zerfall des Quadriviums in der Zeit von Boethius bis zu Gerbert von Aurillac. — In: Kongressbericht Hamburg 1956. S. 129-133.
Krüger, Walther: Aufführungspraktische Fragen mittelalterlicher Mehrstimmigkeit. Zu Heinrich Husmann, Mittelalterliche Mehrstimmigkeit. — In: Die Musikforschung. 9 (1956), S. 419-427 u. 10 (1957), S. 279-286, 397-403 u. 497-505.
— Zur Frage der Rhythmik des St. Martial-Conductus "Jubilemus". — In: Die Musikforschung. 9 (1956), S. 185-188.
— Wort und Ton in den Notre-Dame-Organa. — In: Kongressbericht Hamburg 1956. S. 135-140.

Lebègue, Raymond: Ronsard corrigé par un de ses musiciens. — In: Revue de musicologie. 39 (1957), S. 71-72.

Leipold, E.: Francisco Surianos Chor-Anweisungen zur Johannespassion am Karfreitag. — In: Musica sacra. 76 (1956), S. 65-69.

Lenneberg, Hans H.: The Critic Criticized. Sebastian Virdung and his Controversy with Arnold Schlick. — In: Journal of the American Musicological Society. 10 (1957), S. 1-6.

Levi, Leo: Les neumes, les notations bibliques et le chant protochrétien. — In: La Musique Sacrée. Paris 1957. S. 147-156.

Lockwood, Lewis H.: Vincenzo Ruffo and musical reform after the council of Trient. — In: The Musical Quarterly. 43 (1957), S. 342-371.

Lowinsky, Edward E.: Matthaeus Greiter's "Fortuna". An experiment in chromaticism and in musical iconography. — In: The Musical Quarterly. 43 (1957), S. 68-85.

MacClintock, Carol: A Court Musician's Songbook: Modena MS C 311. — In: Journal of the American Musicological Society. 9 (1956), S. 177-192.

Meeûs, Francis de: Le problème de la rythmique grégorienne. A propos de travaux récents. — In: Acta musicologica. 28 (1956), S. 164-175.

Meier, Bernhard: Bemerkungen zu Lechners "Motectae Sacrae" von 1575. — In: Archiv für Musikwissenschaft. 14 (1957), S. 83-101.

Merritt, A. Tillman: A chanson sequence by Fevin. — In: Essays on music in honor of A. Th. Davison. Cambridge, Mass. 1957. S. 91-99.

Mishkin, Henry G.: Irrational dissonance in the English madrigal. — In: Essays on music in honor of A. Th. Davison. Cambridge, Mass. 1957. S. 139-145.

Müller-Blattau, Joseph: Zur Erforschung des einstimmigen deutschen Liedes im Mittelalter. — In: Die Musikforschung. 10 (1957), S. 107-113.

Murray, Bain: New light on Jacob Obrecht's development. A biographical study. — In: The Musical Quarterly. 43 (1957), S. 500-516.

Niemöller, Klaus Wolfgang: Ars musica — ars poetica — musica poetica. — In: Kongressbericht Hamburg 1956. S. 170-171.

Palisca, Claude V.: Vincenzo Galilei's Counterpoint Treatise: A Code for the "Seconda Pratica". — In: Journal of the American Musicological Society. 9 (1956), S. 81-96.

Parrish, Carl: A curious use of coloration in the Pixérécourt Codex. — In: Essays on music in honor of A. Th. Davison. Cambridge, Mass. 1957. S. 83-90.

Picken, Laurence: Chiang K'uei's "Ning songs for Yüeh". — In: The Musical Quarterly. 43 (1957), S. 201-219.

Pietzsch, Gerhard: Zur Geschichte der Musik in Worms bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts. — In: Der Wormsgau. 3 (1956), S. 249-282.

Plamenac, Dragan: A postscript to "The 'Second' Chansonnier of the Biblioteca Riccardiana". — In: Annales Musicologiques. 4 (1956), S. 261-265.

Quitin, José: Gilles Hayne <1590-1650>. — In: Beiträge zur Musik im Rhein-Maas-Raum. Köln 1957. S. 17-22.

Reaney, Gilbert: The Greek Background of Medieval Musical Thought. — In: The Monthly Musical Record. 87 (1957), S. 124-130.

— "Quid est musica" in the Quatuor principalia musicae. — In: Kongressbericht Hamburg 1956. S. 177-179.

Rohloff, Ernst: "Mit ganzem Willen wünsch ich dir". Neuer Vorschlag zur Textdeutung der einstimmigen Weise im Lochamer Liederbuch. — In: Archiv für Musikwissenschaft. 13 (1956), S. 236-242.

Rubsamen, Walter H.: The Justiníane or Viniziane of the 15th century. — In: Acta

Musicologica. 29 (1957), S. 172-184.
Salmen, Walter: Bemerkungen zum mehrstimmigen Musizieren der Spielleute im Mittelalter. — In: Revue belge de musicologie. 11 (1957), S. 17-26.
Sartori, Claudio: Josquin Des Prez, cantore del Duomo di Milano. — In: Annales Musicologiques. 4 (1956), S. 55-83.
— Matteo da Perugia e Bertrand Feragut i due Maestri di Cappella del Duomo di Milano. — In: Acta musicologica. 28 (1956), S. 12-27.
— Organs, organ-builders and organists in Milan, 1450-1476. New and unpublished documents. — In: The Musical Quarterly. 43 (1957), S. 57-67.
Schmidt, Günther: Zur Quellenlage der Passionen Jakob Meilands <1542-1577>. — In: Jahrbuch für Liturgik u. Hymnologie. 3 (1957), S. 124-126.
Schmidt, Hans: Die Tractus des zweiten Tones in gregorianischer und stadtrömischer Überlieferung. — In: Festschrift Joseph Schmidt-Görg. Bonn 1957. S. 283-302.
Schoenbaum, Camillo: Die Weisen des Gesangbuches der Böhmischen Brüder von 1531. — In: Jahrbuch für Liturgik u. Hymnologie. 3 (1957), S. 44-61.
Schrammek, Winfried: Zur Numerierung im Buxheimer Orgelbuch. — In: Die Musikforschung. 9 (1956), S. 298-302.
Seay, Albert: Florence: The City of Hathby and Ramos. — In: Journal of the American Musicological Society. 9 (1956), S. 193-195.
— Le Manuscrit 695 de la Bibliothèque Communale d'Assise. — In: Revue de musicologie. 39 (1957), S. 10-35.
Sindona, Enio: E Hubert Naich e non Jacob Hobrecht il compagno cantore del Verdelot nel quadro della Galleria Pitti. — In: Acta Musicologica. 29 (1957), S. 1-9.
Smits van Waesberghe, Jos.: Die "Chorales" der St. Servatiuskirche in Maastricht. — In: Beiträge zur Musik im Rhein-Maas-Raum. Köln 1957. S. 9-16.
— Matthaei Herbeni Trajectensis "De natura cantus ac miraculis vocis" <1496>. — In: Kongressbericht Hamburg 1956. S. 219-220.
— Das Nürnberger Osterspiel. — In: Festschrift Joseph Schmidt-Görg. Bonn 1957. S. 303-308.
Sowa, Georg: Eine neu aufgefundene Liederhandschrift mit Noten und Text aus dem Jahre 1544. — In: Kongressbericht Hamburg 1956. S. 223-225.
Spiess, Lincoln Bunce: An introduction to the pre-history of polyphony. — In: Essays on music in honor of A. Th. Davison. Cambridge, Mass. 1957. S. 11-15.
Spink, Ian: Angelo Notari and his "Prime musiche nuove". — In: The Monthly Musical Record. 87 (1957), S. 168-177.
— English 17th-century dialogues. — In: Music and Letters. S. 155-163.
Stäblein, Bruno: Parerga zu Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi (Hymnen I). — In: Die Musikforschung. 10 (1957), S. 552-554.
Stephan, Rudolf: Lied, Tropus und Tanz im Mittelalter. — In: Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur. 87 (1956/57), S. 147-162.
— Über sangbare Dichtung in althochdeutscher Zeit. — In: Kongressbericht Hamburg 1956. S. 225-229.
Stevens, Denis: A musical admonition for Tudor school-boys. — In: Music and Letters. 38 (1957), S. 49-52.
— Plays and pageants in Tudor times. — In: The Monthly Musical Record. 87 (1957), S. 4-9.
Taylor, Ronald J.: Zur Übertragung der Melodien der Minnesänger. — In: Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur. 87 (1956/57), S. 132-147.
Teuber, Ulrich: Notes sur la rédaction musicale du Psautier Genevois <1542-1562>.

— In: Annales Musicologiques. 4 (1956), S. 113-128.

Tischler, Hans: The evolution of the harmonic style in the Notre-Dame Motet. — In: Acta musicologica. 28 (1956), S. 87-95.

Tittel, Ernst: Musicus und Cantor. Ein paradigmatisches Kapitel aus der scholastischen Musikphilosophie. — In: Österreichische Musikzeitschrift. 12 (1957), S. 13-18.

Trowell, Brian: A 14th-century ceremonial motet and its composer. — In: Acta musicologica. 29 (1957), S. 65-75.

Tuttle, Stephen D.: Watermarks in certain manuscript collections of English keyboard music. — In: Essays on music in honor of A. Th.Davison. Cambridge, Mass. 1957. S. 147-158.

Vente, Maarten Albert: Die Orgel des 16. Jh. in Nordbrabant und am Niederrhein. — In: Beiträge zur Musik im Rhein-Maas-Raum. Köln 1957. S. 23-28.

Waeltner, Ernst Ludwig: Der Bamberger Dialog über das Organum. — In: Archiv für Musikwissenschaft. 14 (1957), S. 175-183.

Wellesz, Egon: The "Akathistos". A study in Byzantine hymnography. (An Offprint from Dumbarton Oaks Papers Nr. 9 & 10.) — New York: Harvard Univ. Press 1956. S. 143-174.

Wellesz, Egon: Les "Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae". — In: La Musique Sacrée. Paris 1957. S. 137-141.

Werner, Eric: The Mathematical Foundation of Philippe de Vitri's "Ars Nova". — In: Journal of the American Musicological Society. 9 (1956), S. 128-132.

Wiora, Walter: Zum Problem des Ursprungs der mittelalterlichen Solmisation. — In: Die Musikforschung. 9 (1956), S. 263-274.

Woodworth, G. W.: Texture versus mass in the music of Giovanni Gabrieli. — In: Essays on music in honor of A. Th. Davison. Cambridge, Mass. 1957. S. 129-138.

DISSERTATIONS

Ballard, William Joseph: The sources, development and culmination of the dramatic madrigal. — Evanston, Ill., Nortwestern Univ., Diss. 1957. 239 S.

Brainard, Ingrid: Die Choreographie der Hoftänze in Burgund, Frankreich und Italien im 15. Jh. — Göttingen, Diss. 1956. 373 Bl. [Maschinenschr.]

Buggert, Robert William: Alberto da Ripa, lutenist and composer. Vol. 1. 2. — Ann Arbor, Univ. of Michigan, Diss. 1956. 443 S.

Carter, Joel Jackson: English dramatic music to the 17th century and its availability for modern productions. — Stanford Univ., California, Diss. 1956. 565 S.

Croll, Gerhard: Das Motettenwerk Gaspars van Weerbeke. — Göttingen, Diss. 1956. 249, XIII Bl. [Maschinenschr.]

Dürr, Walther: Studien zu Rhythmus und Metrum im italienischen Madrigal, insbesondere bei Luca Marenzio. — Tübingen, Diss. 1956. 191, 53 Bl. [Maschinenschr.]

Flower, John Arnold: Giovanni Gabrieli's Sacrae Symphoniae <1597>. — Ann Arbor, Univ. of Michigan, Diss. 1956. 370 S.

Günther, Ursula: Der musikalische Stilwandel der französischen Liedkunst in der 2. Hälfte des 14. Jh. Dargestellt an Virelais, Balladen u. Rondeaux von Machaut sowie datierbaren Kantilenensätzen seiner Zeitgenossen u. direkten Nachfolger. — Hamburg, Diss. 1957. 286 Bl. [Maschinenschr.]

Hermann, Irmgard: Tempobezeichnungen und Tanzgattungen in der Generalbasszeit. — Heidelberg, Diss. 1956. 253 Bl. [Maschinenschr.]

Herzog, Johannes: Die einstimmigen Sanctus- und Agnus-Tropen im 10. Faszikel des

Codex Wolfenbüttel 1. — Bonn, Diss. 1957. 120 Bl. [Maschinenschr.]

Holzmann, Klaus: Hieronymus Formschneyders Sammeldruck Trium vocum carmina, Nürnberg 1538. — Freiburg i.B., Diss. 1957. VI, 133 Bl. [Maschinenschr.]

Kabis, Sister Mary Elise: The works of Jean Richafort, renaissance composer <1480? - c. 1548>. Vol. 1: Commentary; vol. 2: Transcriptions. — New York, New York Univ., Diss. 1957. 804 S.

Kataoka, Gido: Die musiktheoretischen Schriften des Scipione Cerreto. — Kiel, Diss. 1956. II, 112 Bl. [Maschinenschr.]

Kultzen, Brigitte: Der Codex Escorial IV. a 24. Übertragung, Katalog, histor. Einordnung einer Chansonsammlung aus der 2. Hälfte des 15. Jh. — Hamburg, Diss. 1956. 150 Bl. [Maschinenschr.]

Lyder, Peguy S.: Latin sacred music of Peter Philips. Vol. 1-3. — New York, New York Univ., Diss. 1955. 1613 S.

Marshall, George Ruffin: The harmonic laws in the madrigals of Carlo Gesualdo. — New York, New York Univ., Diss. 1956. 211 S.

Martin, Uwe: Historische und stilkritische Studien zu Leonhard Lechners Strophenliedern. — Göttingen, Diss. 1957. 232 Bl. [Maschinenschr.]

Meinholz, Josef: Untersuchungen zur Magnificatkomposition des 15. Jahrhunderts. — Köln, Diss. 1956. VI, 220, 37 S.

Obst, Ludwig-Dieter: Die Psalmen-Motetten des Josquin Desprez. Eine quellenkundliche Studie. — Berlin, Freie Univ., Diss. 1957. 272 Bl. [Maschinenschr.]

Petzsch, Christoph: Hofweisen der Zeit um 1500. — Freiburg i.B., Diss. 1957. XI, 166 Bl. [Maschinenschr.]

Reimann, Albert: Studien zur Geschichte des Fagotts. 1. Das "Fagotum" des Afranius Albonesi und zwei "fagotti" in Verona. 2. Geschichte der Namen für das Fagott. — Freiburg i.B., Diss. 1957. XIV, 237 Bl. [Maschinenschr.]

Seifert, Gotthard: Die Choralhandschriften des Predigerklosters zu Freiburg im Breisgau um 1500. — Freiburg, i.B., Diss. 1957. 142 Bl. [Maschinenschr.]

Spohr, Helga: Studien zur italienischen Tanzkomposition um 1600. — Freiburg i.B., Diss. 1956. XIV, 162 Bl. [Maschinenschr.]

Waeltner, Ernst Ludwig: Das Organum bis zur Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts. — Heidelberg, Diss. 1956. V, 318 Bl. [Maschinenschr.]

Wykes, Robert Arthur: Tonal movement in the polyphonic ballades, rondeaux, and virelais of Guillaume de Machaut. — Urbana, Ill., Univ. of Illinois, Diss. 1956. 125 S.

Zundel, Rolf: Der Minnebegriff im Minnesang. — Tübingen, Diss. 1956. 154 Bl. [Maschinenschr.]

MUSIC

Barbireau, Jacobus: Opera omnia. Ed. Bernardus Meier. 2: Motet; Chansons. — Rome: American Institute of musicology 1957. V, 14 S. (= Corpus mensurabilis musicae. 7, 2.)

Binchois, Gilles: Die Chansons. Hrsg. von Wolfgang Rehm. — Mainz: Schott 1957. 14, 73 S. (= Musikalische Denkmäler. 2.)

Gabrieli, Giovanni: Opera omnia. Ed. Denis Arnold. 1: Motetta, Concerti <1587>. Sacrae Symphoniae <1597>. — Rome: American Inst. of Musicology, 1956. (= Corpus mensurabilis musicae. 12.)

Gombert, Nicolai: Opera omnia. Ed. Joseph Schmidt-Görg. Vol. 4: Magnificat. — Rome: American Inst. of Musicology 1957. (= Corpus mensurabilis musicae. 6.)

Jacobus Clemens non Papa: Opera omnia. Ed. K. Ph. Bernet Kempers. 3: Motetta. —

Rome: American Institute of Musicology 1957. 91 S. (= Corpus mensurabilis musicae. 4.)

Lasso, Orlando di: Sämtliche Werke. Neue Reihe. Bd 1: Latein. Motetten, französ. Chansons und ital. Madrigale aus wiederaufgefundenen Drucken 1559-1588. Hrsg. von Wolfgang Boetticher. — Kassel, Basel: Bärenreiter 1956.

Lechner, Leonhard: Werke. Bd 1: Motectae sacrae 4, 5 et 6 vocum. 1575. Hrsg. von Ludwig Finscher. — Kassel, Basel: Bärenreiter 1956. XVI, 193 S.

Morales, Cristóbal de: Opera omnia. Vol. 4: 16 Magnificat <Venecia 1545>. Transcr. y estudio por Higinio Anglés. — Roma: Consejo sup. de investigaciones cientificas 1956. 132 S. (= Monumentos de la musica española. 17.)

Obrecht, Jacobus: Opera omnia. Ed. altera. Vol. 1, Fasc. 5: Missa salve diva parens. Ed. A. Smijers. — Amsterdam: Alsbach 1957.

Othmayr, Caspar: Ausgewählte Werke. T. 2: Cantilenae <1546>, Epitaphium D. Martini Lutheri <1546>, Bicinia <1547?>, Tricinia <1549>, Einzelne Werke aus verstreuten Quellen. Hrsg. von Hans Albrecht. — Frankfurt a.M.: Peters 1956. XV, 165 S. (3 Das Erbe deutscher Musik. 26.)

Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da: Le opere complete. Vol. 21: Il libro 6. delle messe a 4, 5 e 6 voci. Per cura e studio di Lino Bianchi. — Roma: Ist. Italiano per la storia della musica. 1956. X, 187 S. — Vol. 22: Il libro 2. dei madrigali spirituali a 5 voci. Per cura e studio di Lino Bianchi. 1957. XV, 97 S.

Regis, Johannes: Opera omnia. Ed. Cornelis Lindenburg. Vol. 1: Missae; vol. 2: Motets and chansons. — Rome: American Inst. of Musicology 1956. 66 u. 65 S. (= Corpus mensurabilis musicae. 9.)

Scheidt, Samuel: Geistliche Konzerte Teil 1. Hrsg. von Christhard Mahrenholz. — Hamburg: Ugrino-Verl. 1957. XIV, 133 S. (= Scheidt: Werke. 8.)

Willaert, Adrian: Opera omnia. Ed. Hermann Zenck, Walter Gerstenberg. 5: Musica nova. 1559. Motetta. — Rome: American Institute of Musicology 1957. XI, 283 S. (= Corpus mensurabilis musicae. 3.)

★

Faksimile-Ausgabe der Handschrift Madrid 20486. Mit e. Einl. von Luther Dittmer [in deutscher u. engl. Sprache]. — Brooklyn, N.Y.: Inst. of Mediaeval Music 1957. 75 S. (= Veröffentlichungen mittelalterlicher Musikhandschriften. 1.)

Fragmenta Chiliandarica Palaeoslavica. Praefatus est Roman Jakobson. Phototypice depictus. A.B. — Copenhagen: Munksgaard 1957. A. Sticherarium, Codex monasterii Chiliandarici 307. B. Hirmologium. Codex monasterii Chiliandarici 308. (= Monumenta musicae Byzantinae. 5.)

Contacarium Ashburnhamense. Ed. cur. Carsten Høeg. Codex Bibl. Laurentianae Ashburnhamensis 64. Phototypice depictus. — Copenhague: Munksgaard 1956. 47 S., S. 1r-265v. (= Monumenta musicae Byzantinae. 4.)

Hymnen. Hrsg. von Bruno Stäblein. 1: Die mittelalterlichen Hymnenmelodien des Abendlandes. — Kassel, Basel: Bärenreiter 1956. (= Monumenta monodica medii aevi. 1.)

Der Mensuralkodex des Nikolaus Apel. <Ms. 1494 der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig.> Hrsg. von Rudolf Gerber. T. 1. — Kassel, Basel: Bärenreiter 1956. X, 130 S. (= Das Erbe deutscher Musik. 32.)

Missa Tornacensis. Ed. Charles van den Borren. — Rome: American Institute of musicology 1957. XI, 33 S. (= Corpus mensurabilis musicae. 13.)

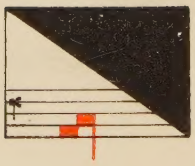
Music of Scotland. 1500-1700. Ed. by Kenneth Elliott. Song-texts ed. by Helena Mennie Shire. — London: Stainer & Bell 1957. XXV, 221 S. (= Musica Britannica. 15.)

MVSICA DISCIPLINA

A Yearbook of the History of Music

ARMEN CARAPETYAN
Editor

Gilbert Reaney
Assistant Editor



Vol. XI, 1957

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF MUSICOLOGY

H.E. NO A 98

MUSICA DISCIPLINA appaers in one issue each year.
Annual subscription: $ 7.50.

IMPORTANT NOTICE

The price charged for *Musica Disciplina* by no means covers its actual cost. Moreover, the American Institute of Musicology is a non-commercial, non-profit-making organization. Therefore, for a simpler office work and for avoiding occasional misunderstanding, attention is drawn to the following:

Any subscription will be taken as a standing order, not subject to annual renewals, until expressly cancelled in writing by the subscriber. Notices of renewals are not objected to, but it is notices of cancellation that will count, and the subscriber will be held responsible for them.

Subscribers would moreover show kind co-operation by paying for their subscriptions without waiting for their bills.

Subscribers in France, Germany and Great Britain will please address themselves to the following agents:

Heugel & Cie.
2 bis, rue Vivienne, Paris 2e

Bärenreiter-Verlag-Kassel
Heinrich-Schütz-Allee 31-37, Kassel-Wilhelmshöhe

Hinrichsen Edition, Ltd.
Bach House, 10-12 Bachs Street, London, N. 1.

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF MUSICOLOGY

C.P. 515, San Silvestro, Rome, Italy
Subscription and Distribution:
P.O. Box 12233, Dallas, Texas, U.S.A.

Copyright 1957 by Armen Carapetyan

Printed by the Centrale Drukkerij n.v., Nijmegen (Holland)